INDIAN ANTIQUITIES:

O R,

DISSERTATIONS,

RELATIVE TO

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS,
THE PURE SYSTEM OF PRIMEVAL THEOLOGY,
THE GRAND CODE OF CIVIL LAWS,
THE ORIGINAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT, AND
THE VARIOUS AND PROFOUND LITERATURE

OF HINDOSTAN.

COMPARED, THROUGHOUT, WITH THE
RELIGION, LAWS, GOVERNMENT and LITERATURE
OF

PERSIA, EGYPT, AND GREECE.

THE WHOLE
Intended as Introductory to, and Illustrative of,
THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

VOL. I. PART I.

Containing the DISSERTATIONS on the GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS, and the THEOLOGY, of HINDOSTAN.

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TO THE

UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,

THE SUCCEEDING

DISSERTATIONS,

IN WHICH

A NEW PATH

IN LITERATURE

IS ATTEMPTED TO BE EXPLORED,

ARE, WITH PROFOUND RESPECT,

AND WITH BECOMING DIFFIDENCE,

INSCRIBED BY

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P. S. The preceding Lift of Names, with which this Hiftory has been honoured, is not only truly refpectable, but highly flattering to the author; becaufe it confifts of perfons who, though they do not entirely coincide, as to opinion, in the line of Indian politics, yet have kindly united to patronife a Work of Literature. Refpectable and flattering as it is however, it muft ftrike every mind, that reflects on the magnitude and expence of an undertaking of this nature, that fo fmall a lift can by no means be fufficient for the proper and fpirited execution of it, according to the plan of which this volume exhibits a fpecimen. The author therefore, in the hope that when more publicly known, the HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN will be fanctioned by a more numerous catalogue of fubfcribers, is induced to leave the fubfcription ftill open, and thofe Noblemen and Gentlemen, who may be inclined to extend their patronage to this infant work, will pleafe to tranfmit their commands to Mr. Elmfley, Mr. Richardfon, or the Author, at his refidence, No. 126, Great Ruffell Street, Bloomfbury.

PREFACE.

IN the year 1785 a singular phænomenon made its appearance, in the world of literature, under the title of BHAGVAT-GEETA, or Dialogues of Creeshna and Arjoon. This production was asserted to be a translation by Mr. Wilkins from a Sanscreet poem, denominated the MAHABBARAT, or Great War, of which poem it forms an episode, and the public were informed that it is believed in India, to be of the venerable antiquity of four thousand years; and that it contained all the grand mysteries of the Hindoo Religion.

The GEETA was ushered into the world with all the importance which so invaluable a monument of Indian science seemed to merit: it was prefaced by a recommendatory letter from the Governor-General of Bengal to the Directors, and published at the expence of the Company. The profound theological

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and metaphyſical doctrines which were inculcated in it, with the date to which it laid claim, rouzed the attention, and excited the curioſity of the public, whoſe eyes about that period began, in a more particular manner, to be directed towards the hiſtory and literature of India. It fell into my hands at a period, when, from being engaged in writing upon a ſubject connected with an intereſting period of Perſian hiſtory, I had recently peruſed with attention the very learned work of Dr. Hyde, "De Hiſtoria Religionis Veterum Perſarum," and, as I thought I traced a ſurpriſing ſimilitude in the theological ſyſtems of ZOROASTER and BRAHMA, particularly in the mutual veneration of the SUN and FIRE, I was gradually led on to that more accurate inveſtigation and compariſon of their principles, of which the Diſſertation on the Religion of Hindoſtan is the reſult.

From conſidering the Religion, I paſſed, by an eaſy and natural tranſition, to an attentive conſideration of the Hiſtory, the Philoſophy, and Literature, of this wonderful and remote race of men. The light which ſo ſtrongly radiates from the page of claſſical antiquity upon moſt other abſtruſe points of literary reſearch

ſearch, caſt but a glimmering ray on this obſcure ſubject; and indeed its aſſertions were, in many inſtances, diametrically oppoſite to what, from the information of modern travellers of high repute, is known to be the fact. Whatever genuine information could poſſibly be obtained relative to India, its early hiſtory and literature, ſeemed only to be acquired through the medium of faithful verſions from the Sanſcreet, the ancient original language of the country, and the grand repoſitory of all its hiſtory and ſciences; but unfortunately, at that period, there were only three gentlemen who were ſuppoſed to be thoroughly acquainted with it, viz. Sir W. Jones, Mr. Halhed, and Mr. Wilkins.

Mr. Halhed had already preſented to the public that aſtoniſhing proof of the early wiſdom of the Indians, and their extenſive ſkill in juriſprudence "the Code of Gentoo Laws" compiled at Benares, by a number of Brahmins aſſembled for the purpoſe by Mr. Haſtings, from the moſt ancient Sanſcreet treatiſes on the ſubject. The Code bears indeed ſtrong internal evidence of the moſt profound antiquity, and in general by the inveſtigator of the policy, and manners, of oriental nations, as well as in particular, by the Hiſtorian of

Indian events muſt ever be conſidered as an invaluable acquiſition. The veil that covered their theology, their metaphyſics, and their juriſprudence, was thus happily removed.—Their Ethics or ſyſtem of Morals, remained ſtill to be diſcloſed; and we wanted an undoubted original picture, faithfully drawn from life, of Indian habits and manners in the moſt ancient periods of their empire.

Happily, to gratify the excited curioſity of the public, the grand deſiderata were ſoon obtained. Mr. Wilkins, who firſt ſprang the mine, and has ever ſince been indefatigable in his efforts to bring to light the ineſtimable, but buried, treaſures of Sanſcreet literature, in 1787, publiſhed a tranſlation of the HEETOPADES, or Amicable Inſtructions. This work, which Sir William Jones denominates "the moſt beautiful, if not the moſt ancient collection of apologues in the world," was originally written in Sanſcreet, about eleven hundred years ago, by a venerable Brahmin of the name of Veeſhnu-Sarma. So highly has the HEETOPADES been eſteemed for the ſoundneſs of its moral precepts, the judicious maxims it inculcates for the regulation of human conduct, both in private and public ſtation, and the beautiful ſimplicity of many of

of the allegories in which they are delivered, that under other names, as the Fables of Pilpay, &c. &c. it has already been tranflated into more than twenty languages of Europe and Afia. In thofe tranflations, however, it has fuffered much mutilation, as well as confiderable diftortion in its primitive feature of fimplicity; and it is only in Mr. Wilkins's almoft literal verfion that we fee the faithful portrait of the beautiful original.

In 1788 Sir William Jones publifhed his Tranflation of SACONTALA, or the Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama, written by Calidas, an author of diftinguifhed merit in that clafs of Indian literature, who flourifhed about a century before the commencement of the Chriftian æra. In this publication we find exhibited a genuine and lively portrait of Indian manners and fentiments, as they actually exifted nearly two thoufand years ago, and poffibly at a period far more ancient; fince, according to the Brahmins, Dufhmanta, the regal hero of the piece, and hufband of Sacontala, fate upon the throne of India, above a thoufand years before Chrift; and it is probable that the poet would fo far obferve confiftency, as to endeavour to reprefent the manners of the age in which Dufhmanta reigned.

It

It is, indeed, a moſt valuable acquiſition to the writer who would wiſh accurately to delineate thoſe manners, and throws conſiderable light upon many points, relative to their cuſtoms and opinions, with which the ancients were very ſuperficially acquainted, and which they have, frequently, very groſsly miſrepreſented. Theſe *four publications* I have uſed as a ſort of commentary to rectify what was falſe, or elucidate what was obſcure in Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Strabo, Philoſtratus, and Pliny; and I truſt the following pages, in which their relations are contraſted, will evince both the minute attention, and the unwearied diligence of the author, who firſt, in Europe, undertook the arduous taſk of comparing Sanſcreet and Greek literature.

Theſe various efforts, ſo worthy of a great and enlightened nation, to inveſtigate the ſciences, and develope the complicated annals of a people, concerning whom more has been WRITTEN and leſs really KNOWN, than any other nation that anciently tenanted the vaſt regions of Aſia, were accompanied by the moſt active and vigorous perſonal exertions, of a ſimilar kind, upon the ſpot—The TAAR-leaf, the papyrus, and even the inſcribed vellum, will periſh in a few revolving centuries; but

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the engraved tablet of copper, or braſs, and the ſolid column of marble, muſt, for a far more exended period, defy the corroding violence of time.——Theſe were diligently ſought for, not only in our own ſettlements in the eaſt, but through all the extent of Hindoſtan, by that literary ſociety of gentlemen eſtabliſhed under the auſpices of Sir William Jones, in Calcutta, denominated the Aſiatic Society. The ſcientific labours of theſe gentlemen are diſplayed in that grand repoſitory of Sanſcreet information, the two volumes of ASIATIC RESEARCHES, which have ſucceſſively arrived (the laſt only within a few months) in this country, the miniſtry of which never did a more wiſe or prudent thing, than when they ſent out the great orientaliſt, their preſident, to ſuperintend the juriſprudence of thoſe Aſiatic provinces, the prevailing languages and manners of which were ſo familiarly known to him. The early efforts of that Society were crowned with ſignal ſucceſs. The buried tablet has been dug from the bowels of the earth; the fallen and mouldering pillar has been reared; coins and medals, ſtruck in commemoration of grand and important events, have been recovered from the ſepulchral darkneſs of two thouſand

years;

years; and the obsolete characters engraved on their superficies have, with immense toil, been decyphered and explained. It is by the increasing and concentrated light which those precious remains throw upon the classic page, that the footsteps of the historian must be guided, and his path through the obscure maze of antiquity illumined.

Abul Fazel, the learned Secretary of Akber, the most magnificent and powerful monarch that ever swayed the Indian scepter, had previously, in the sixteenth century, by the most laudable and strenuous exertions, in some degree explored that path, and penetrated that obscure maze. All the authority however of sovereign power, exercised in the mildest manner, and employed to promote the best purposes, by the most liberal of princes, added to the weight of influence, which his own distinguished talents and virtues gave him over the grateful race of Brahma, introduced that diligent investigator of Sanscreet antiquities, little farther than to the threshold of the grand Temple of Indian theology, and science. Of the vigour and extent of the Secretary's researches, the AYEEN AKBERY, or Mirror of Akber, remains a wonderful proof; and Mr. Gladwin, in obliging the Asiatic world with

with a version of that work, in 1783, has much contributed to mitigate the toil of the Indian Geographer, and Annalist. Of this celebrated production, which Major Rennel terms an Authentic Register of all matters relating to Hindostan, that is, as far as they were known to Akber, being equally high in price, and difficult to be procured, I was not so early in possession as I could have wished; but having, at length, by the favour of Samuel Johnson Esq. of the India House, obtained it, I have amply profited by that gentleman's spontaneous kindness. The first volume of this oriental performance, treats rather of Mohammedan, than Indian manners; of the arrangement of the court of Akber; and of the œconomy of his houshold. In the history of that Emperor's reign it will be of infinite use; but was foreign to the subjects more immediately under discussion. Of the second volume, which contains the geography of the Soobahs, and a concise history of their several sovereigns, the reader will find in the following sheets, so correct an abridgment as cannot fail highly to gratify his curiosity, and cannot injure the translator, who, I heard with regret from his London bookseller, is no more! Of the third volume, which treats of the astronomical con-

ceits, the theological, metaphyſical, and other ſcientific ſpeculations, as well as of the ſeveral degrees and numerous penances, of the Hindoos, he will alſo find the ſubſtance interſperſed throughout the body of theſe extended Diſſertations.

The great work of the MAHABBARAT, now tranſlating by Mr. Wilkins, and of which Abul Fazel himſelf anciently gave a Perſian verſion, not being, as yet, in the poſſeſſion of the public, I can only, for the preſent, ſubmit to that public the epitome of its contents which is prefixed to Feriſhtah's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, compared throughout, with great diligence, with the Perſian Annals of Mirkhond, with the Tartar Hiſtory of Abulgazi Bahadur, and ſuch other oriental Hiſtories as are in my poſſeſſion, of which the number is not ſmall, nor have they been procured by the author without infinite labour and reſearch, or heavy and accumulated expence. This chaſm, however, with the permiſſion of the tranſlator, ſhall hereafter be filled up, and the reader, will, I truſt, find the dark period and events to which that voluminous detail bears reference, as ſatisfactorily elucidated, as I flatter myſelf he will the obſcure hiſtory of the AVATARS themſelves, *or the ten deſcents*

of

of Veeshnu. During these enquries into the remotest historical antiquities of Asia, as I have constantly kept the Sacred Volumes, and the invaluable fragments of Chaldæan History by Berosus, before me, with all that Bishop Cumberland, Stanley, Hyde, *Athanasius Kircher*, and others, have written upon the *Phænicians*, Chaldæans, Persians and Egyptians; and as I have diligently contrasted them with the later and more profound disquisitions of Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches, relative to the origin and early history of those nations; I trust I shall not be thought presumptuous for offering a decisive opinion with respect to that remote period, and those apparently fabulous events. I consider the whole as only a corruption of ancient Chaldæan history and traditions, and therefore have referred the incidents of the GREAT WAR recorded in the Mahabbarat, and all the romantic accounts, given in the same volume, of the battles of the Indian SOORS and ASOORS, that is, the good and evil Genii, to the contests of the sons of Shem and Ham, for the empire of the infant world. In short, I have the most confident hope of being able to DEMONSTRATE as I proceed, that the wars of the Giants and Titans of other nations, are

known in India under that denomination; and the evidence which I shall adduce of the wonderful similitude between the primitive theology and manners of the Chaldæans and Indians, especially in the veneration for *sacred fountains*, formerly so prevalent in Cashmere, the region of India probably first inhabited, will go far towards confuting the romantic ideas that have gone forth into the world, of the unfathomable antiquity of the Hindoos, and of the ark of Noah resting upon the Indian Caucasus, instead of mount Baris in Armenia.

After having read with laborious attention whatever has been written concerning India by the Persian and Arabian historians, of whom we have been favoured with elegant Latin versions by Pocock, Erpenius, Golius, Hudson, Reiske, and other great oriental scholars, I sate down to the serious re-perusal and examination of what the ancient authors, esteemed classical, had delivered in relation to that country; but, from the little I already knew of its native history, I soon found their accounts, for the most part, to be replete with misconception, if not with gross error. PORUS, or rather POURAVA, (for that, Sir W. Jones has informed me, was the real name of the undaunted opposer of the great Alexander) the

reigning

reigning rajah of a country called the PANJAB, from the five rivers that water it, ſeems to have been univerſally miſtaken for the ſupreme Monarch of India, to whom, probably, that prince was only one, though not the leaſt formidable, among many tributary princes; and the ſubjugation of a province of that mighty empire was, with the uſual vanity of the Greeks, magnified into the conqueſt of India. By comparing, however, the relations of the Greek and Roman writers with thoſe of FERISTAH, and the other oriental hiſtorians, of whom, a liſt of thoſe in my poſſeſſion is added to this preface, I gradually obtained that knowledge of the ancient hiſtory and manners of the Indians, which I have attempted to exhibit in the volumes which will ſucceſſively ſolicit the attention of the indulgent public. Had there been any work at that time publiſhed, or had I known of any work intended to be publiſhed, that promiſed to include the ancient and modern hiſtory of India, according both to Sanſcreet and Claſſical writers, and preſent to the reader a comprehenſive view of the wonderful tranſactions performed, during the period of near four thouſand years, on that grand theatre; I ſhould never have ventured upon an undertaking at once ſo arduous, and ſo hazardous.

As

As ſoon as I had formed the reſolution, in the beſt manner I might be able, to ſupply that defect, I communicated my intention to Sir William Jones, in India, with whoſe friendſhip I was honoured at an early period of life, and who returned me ſuch an anſwer as encouraged me both to proceed with vigour, and to aſpire with ardour. He was at the ſame time ſo obliging as to impart a few hints for the conduct of the work, which I have anxiouſly endeavoured to follow. I likewiſe ſubmitted the Propoſals for my intended Hiſtory to the Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India Company; accompanied with a Letter, in which I took an extenſive ſurvey of the great outlines of that hiſtory. Nothing could be more flattering to an infant undertaking, than the applauſe which that Letter procured me from the moſt reſpectable quarters: and, indeed, as a proof that the diſtinguiſhed body of men to whom it was addreſſed, thought that the author had exerted laborious aſſiduity in the inveſtigation of the obſcure ſubject which he profeſſed to elucidate, an immediate anſwer was returned, and *forty ſets* of the Hiſtory ſubſcribed for. Both the Letter itſelf and the Anſwer are printed by way of Introduction to the firſt volume of the Hiſtory itſelf.

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The liberal conduct of the Directors, on this occasion, to an unpatronized ſtranger, affords deciſive evidence that an enlightened aſſembly of Britiſh merchants are equally above the baſeneſs of prejudice, and the meanneſs of avarice; and that, *however humble the inſtrument*, they are never indifferent to the advancement of Literature, and the diffuſion of Science.

I frankly own to the candid reader that I knew not, at the time, the full extent and magnitude of the undertaking in which I had embarked. At my very entrance into the grand hiſtoric field, through the whole ample circuit of which it became neceſſary for me to range, a field over-run with exotic and luxuriant vegetation, ſuch a proſpect unfolded itſelf, as, I confeſs, at once diſheartened and terrified me. Such a variety of complicated and profound ſubjects preſſed for diſcuſſion, before the way could be ſufficiently cleared for an entrance upon the immediate path of Hiſtory; ſo deeply were the wild fables of Indian Mythology blended with the authentic annals of regular Hiſtory; that the *proper* execution of the arduous work, ſeemed to demand the exertion of abilities, as well as the command of fortune, to which

which I could by no means lay claim. It soon occurred to me, that, instead of the solitary exertions of an individual of moderate talents, of confined and precarious income, with no powerful patron in the high and splendid circles of life to protect, and no opulent private connections vigorously to promote the work, the completion of so extensive a plan as that laid down by myself, required the united efforts of some considerable literary society, combining a splendid assemblage of genius and erudition, and embodied for the purpose, with every public library in the kingdom at their service, and, I might add, the public treasury also, at their command. The stupendous system of the BRAHMIN CHRONOLOGY, extending back through millions of years; the obstinate denial of a GENERAL DELUGE by those Brahmins; the perplexing doctrine of a TRINITY IN THE DIVINE NATURE, for ever occurring in the operations of the grand Indian Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeshnu and Seeva, a doctrine not to be traced to any immediate connexion with the Jewish nation, yet more conspicuous in India, than even in the *Triple Mithra* of Persia, and *the Globe, the Wing, and the Serpent*, which, according to Kircher, formed the Trinity of Egypt; these were among the numerous, the delicate,

delicate, and abſtruſe topics, which neither the clerical nor hiſtorical function in which I had engaged, would allow of being paſſed over in ſilence.

I had not, at firſt, formed the remoteſt conception that to enter into the ſpirit of the Ancient Sanſcreet Hiſtory of India, or to render that hiſtory intelligible to the reader, it would be neceſſary to engage in the deepeſt aſtronomical ſpeculations of the oriental world, yet, as I advanced in my enquiries, I found that kind of knowledge to be indiſpenſable; for, in fact, the primeval hiſtories of all the ancient empires of the earth amount to little more than the romantic dreams of aſtronomical mythology. This is particularly evident in Hindoſtan, from the two great and moſt ancient rajah families being denominated SURYA-BANS and CHANDRA-BANS; or Children of the Sun and Moon.

I have entered farther into theſe aſtronomical diſquiſitions than my friends may think was either neceſſary, or, in regard to the ſale of my book, *prudent*; but this particular ſubject was intimately connected with others of a higher nature, and more momentous reſearch.—The daring aſſertions of certain ſceptical French philoſophers with reſpect to the Age of the World, whoſe arguments I have

attempted to refute, arguments principally founded on the high aſſumptions of the Brahmins and other Eaſtern nations, in point of chronology and aſtronomy, could their extravagant claims be ſubſtantiated, have a direct tendency to overturn the Moſaic ſyſtem, and with it, Chriſtianity. I have, therefore, with what ſucceſs the reader muſt hereafter determine, laboured to invalidate thoſe claims, with all the perſevering aſſiduity which an hearty belief in the truth of the former, and an unſhaken attachment, not merely profeſſional, to the latter ſyſtem, could not fail of exciting and animating. While engaged in thoſe enquiries, the fortunate arrival of the ſecond volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches, with the various diſſertations on the ſubject, of Sir William Jones, and of Mr. Davis, who has unveiled the aſtronomical myſteries of the famous SURYA SIDDHANTA, the moſt ancient Sanſcreet treatiſe on that ſcience, enabled me to purſue with ſatisfaction, with ſecurity, and, I truſt, to demonſtration, the plan which I had previouſly formed, and upon which alone the difficulty can be ſolved.

Guided by ſuch indiſputable authorities, I truſt, I have proved in the firſt volume of my hiſtory, that the perſonages who are ſaid to

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have flouriſhed ſo many thouſand years in the earlieſt ages, were of celeſtial, not terreſtrial, origin; that their empire was the empire of imagination, in the ſkies, not of real power on this globe of earth; that the day and year of Brahma, and the day and year of Mortals, are of a nature widely different; that the whole jargon of the YUGS or grand periods, and conſequently all thoſe preſumptuous aſſertions of the Brahmins, relative to the earth's antiquity, have no foundation but in the great ſolar and lunar cycles, or planetary revolutions; and that CHALDÆA, and not INDIA, was the parent country of mankind. In proof of this laſt aſſertion, I have produced a few remarkable inſtances which evince the primitive languages of Chaldæa and India not to be greatly diſſimilar; that the name ADAM may be traced to the Sanſcreet root, ADIM, or *the firſt*; that in the prophetic and regal title of MENU of India, may be recognized the patriarch Noah; that their great hero, BALI, an appellative ſynonymous with the Bel, or Baal, of their neighbours, is no other than Belus; and that all the prodigies of valour and wiſdom fabled of the renowned DIONYSIUS of India, if true, are only true of Rama, the ſon of Cuſh. Whatſoever partial objections may be urged againſt the

system thus adopted by me, I am convinced that it is the only basis upon which any solid history of Ancient India can be founded; and every fresh enquiry confirms me in that opinion.

Among the various kinds of evidence hereafter adduced in corroboration of my idea, I have appealed to one particular species, of a nature equally curious and remote from common investigation. If it happen that Criticism should point any severe strictures on that portion of my work, I shall think myself exceedingly ill repaid for literary toil, which cost me many nights of painful vigil, and which, from the intense application I was compelled to bestow upon the subject, materially injured my health. It was an attentive and accurate inspection of the Solar and Lunar Zodiacs of India, inserted in the same valuable collection, the former consisting, like that of Egypt and Greece, of *twelve* constellations, similar in order and designation, except in the signs Virgo and Gemini, and the latter of *twenty-seven*, resembling the MANAZIL-AL-KAMAR of the Arabians, that first suggested to me the hypothesis upon which I have bestowed indefatigable pains, and which I shall now cursorily unfold.

That

That the " ancient hiſtory of the illuſtrious families of Greece, during the poetical ages, might be read in the heavens," was the opinion of the late Mr. Coſtard, one of the moſt profound oriental aſtronomers ever born out of Aſia. But it is a fact notorious, and allowed by all proficients in that noble and wonderful ſcience, that the Greeks, although they carried aſtronomy to a ſurpriſing height of improvement, were not the inventors of it. They borrowed from the Egyptians their knowledge of its principles, and in their wild ambition, to have themſelves conſidered by poſterity, as the moſt ancient nation on earth, and their country as the ſole fountain of the arts and ſciences, they adapted to the conſtellations, *already formed*, the various parts of their own fabulous hiſtory. Sir Iſaac Newton indeed, in his leaſt perfect work, " the Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended," has affirmed, that Chiron firſt formed the ſphere for the uſe of the Argonauts; but even a name ſo highly and deſervedly eminent as Newton's cannot ſanction a palpable error. Dr. Rutherforth, in one of the moſt ingenious productions on the ſubject of Natural Philoſophy that ever was publiſhed, has in the cleareſt manner evinced that the conſtellations

delineated

delineated on the ſphere, though apparently alluſive to the Argonautic expedition, could not poſſibly be the fabrication of Chiron, or any other Grecian, for that purpoſe; ſince the greateſt part of the ſtars in the conſtellation Argo, and, in particular, Canopus, the brighteſt of them, were not viſible in any part of Greece; and no aſtronomer would be ſo abſurd as to delineate conſtellations to direct the courſe of a veſſel, the principal ſtars in which "could not be ſeen by the mariners, either when they ſet out, or when they came to the end of their voyage."* Although, undoubtedly, many of the figures of the conſtellations have the appearance of being ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, yet that, at leaſt, thoſe of the Zodiac could not be of genuine Egyptian origin, among other evident proofs, which will be hereafter adduced by me, one or two only ſhall be ſtated at preſent. In the firſt place, they are not adapted to the order in which the ſeaſons ſucceeded each other in Egypt. For inſtance the ſign Virgo, which is repreſented by a young female, with ears of ripened corn in her hand, evidently points to

* I ſhall, hereafter, have occaſion to cite this curious paſſage of Dr. Rutherforth more at length. It is in the ſecond volume of the Quarto Edition, page 850, Cambridge, 1748.

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the ſeaſon of the harveſt. Such, in fact, it is in moſt countries when the Sun enters into that ſign, that is, in September; but in Egypt, where the fertility of the country depends upon the annual overflowings of the Nile, and where conſequently the concerns of agriculture are both managed on different principles, and directed by peculiar local regulations, the period of the harveſt is in March; or rather, as Pliny has recorded it, *paulo ante Calendas Aprilis.* †
The ſame argument forcibly applies to the ſign Aquarius, by which are meant the chilling rains of the bleak winter ſeaſon, whereas hardly any rain at all falls in Egypt, and their winter is the fineſt ſeaſon. Hence it is evident that the Egyptians could not have been the inventors of a form and order of the conſtellations inapplicable to their own climate, but muſt have brought a ſphere, already fabricated for the uſe of agriculture and navigation, from ſome primeval country inhabited by them, before their migration to the banks of the Nile; and that primeval country, we are informed from the moſt ſacred authority, was CHALDÆA.

† Plinii Nat. Hiſt. lib. xviii, cap. 47. Aldi Edit.

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Impreſſed therefore with ideas on the ſubject, ſimilar to thoſe that ſwayed Mr. Coſtard's mind; but, at the ſame time, convinced that the "hiſtory to be read in the heavens," neither alluded to the Grecian, nor wholly to the Egyptian mythology, I have adventurouſly launched into a new region of hiſtorical inveſtigation, and have attempted to give, from the ample and recording tablet of the ſkies, the real hiſtory of the firſt grand family of the poſt-diluvian world. I have commenced the hiſtory of the ancient ſovereigns of Hindoſtan, that is, of the Children of the Sun and Moon, from the ætherial region whence they probably emanated; and a compariſon, which I have been enabled to make, of all the oriental zodiacs, ſolar and lunar, that could be procured by my reſearches into books of antiquity, fully corroborates the ſyſtem upon which I have proceeded. Indeed ſo wide has been the range I have found myſelf compelled to take, of ſuch an extenſive nature were the ſubjects that continually roſe and demanded elucidation, that in the former part of the work I ſeemed to be under the neceſſity of writing, not ſo much the hiſtory of Hindoſtan, AS THE HISTORY OF ASIA ITSELF, AND OF THE HUMAN RACE IN THEIR INFANT STATE. Without taking this enlarged retroſpect of ancient periods,

riods, the early hiſtory of an empire, undoubtedly one of the firſt eſtabliſhed upon earth, blended as that hiſtory is with theological and aſtronomical ſpeculations, and involved as it is in that of Aſſyria and Perſia, would be totally unintelligible.

While Dr. Rutherforth combats the aſſertion of Sir Iſaac Newton, that Chiron formed the firſt ſphere, for the uſe of the Argonauts in their voyage to Colchis, he yet allows that many of the conſtellations of the Grecian, that is, as Mr. Coſtard in another treatiſe has proved, the Chaldæan ſphere, apparently allude to that event; but then he thinks they were fabricated at a period *ſubſequent* to its completion, and were intended only as *memorials* of it. With reſpect to the event itſelf, Mr. Bryant, in the ſecond volume of his Analyſis of Ancient Mythology, has offered very ſubſtantial arguments to evince that it never took place at all, and that the whole ſtory originally aroſe from ſome miſapprehended traditions relative *to the ark of Noah*, and the ſacred perſonages that attended him on the moſt important voyage ever recorded. Had Mr. Bryant more frequently directed his attention to that Perſian and Arabian literature which Mr. Richardſon, in his diſſertation on

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the languages, literature, and manners of Eastern Nations, seems to think he treated with too much contempt, he might have derived a surprising support to his assertions from many of their astronomical productions. For instance, in Dr. Hyde's translation of Ulug Beg's Tables of the Fixed Stars, the sign Argo is simply called Stella Navis, that is, *the constellation of* the ship; and there is reason to suppose that in naming the stars, the royal astronomer of Persia followed some very ancient astronomical tables, known in his own country; since, had he copied those of Ptolemy, he would have denominated it, after that writer, Αργȣσ Αςερισμȣσ; the Asterism of Argo.

Mr. Bryant has slightly mentioned, from this author, that, by Orion, the Persians usually understand Nimrod; and that *an altar* formed part of the ancient sphere: but he might have gone farther than this, and, in the signs of the Zodiac, and the constellations of the Southern hemisphere in particular, have discovered many other striking circumstances, relative to the early post-diluvian ages. The ample notes which Dr. Hyde has added to this work of Ulug Beg, upon every one of the forty-eight constellations, into which the ancients

ancients divided the viſible heavens, with the enumeration of their ſeveral oriental appellations in Chaldee, Hebrew, Perſian, and Arabic, with large extracts from the writings of various Aſiatic aſtronomers, exhibit an ineſtimable treaſure of intelligence in this line of ſcience, which ſeems never before to have been ſufficiently attended to by the Eaſtern Antiquary, or the hiſtorian of Aſiatic events. Surely if the ancient Greeks had the *policy* to adapt their mythologic details to conſtellations, totally irrelative to their hiſtory, the moderns ſhould have the *honeſty* to reſtore to the Chaldæans, what it is evident originally belonged to them, and what I am of opinion can be proved to allude to the primitive hiſtory of mankind. The whole of the fifteen Southern conſtellations, probably the firſt delineated on the celeſtial ſphere, appear to me to afford an illuſtrative commentary upon, and to yield deciſive teſtimony to the truth of THE TEN FIRST CHAPTERS OF GENESIS. For in memorial of what other events, except of thoſe important ones that engroſſed the grateful admiration of the poſt-diluvian fathers of mankind, were placed in the heavens, firſt, the conſtellation of NAVIS, or the Ship; ſecondly, ARA, or the Altar, with its vaſt body

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of fire and ſmoke aſcending near the Triangle, the remarkable Egyptian Symbol of Deity, I mean of the NUMEN TRIPLEX; thirdly, the SACRIFICER, whom the Greeks (for a reaſon which I ſhall hereafter explain) denominated Chiron, the Centaur; fourthly, the BEAST about to be ſacrificed, improperly called Lupus, ſince Ptolemy uſes the term Θηριος, and the Arabian appellative of the conſtellation, is tranſlated *fera* by Dr. Hyde; fifthly, CORVUS, or the raven; ſixthly, CRATER, or the Cup of libation, called by the Egyptians, Crater beneficus Oſiridis, and I truſt that no truth can be more indiſputably proved, than that which I have laboured to eſtabliſh in the following pages, that Oſiris and NOAH are the ſame. Seventhly, eighthly and ninthly, with reſpect to the CANIS MAJOR, the CANIS MINOR, and LEPUS, that is, the greater and leſſer dog, and the hare, ſituated ſo near to Orion, the great and iniquitous Hunter both of men and beaſts, I ſhall take the liberty of inſerting the illuſtrative words of my author himſelf. Dr. Hyde tells us the JEWS call this conſtellation Gibbor, that is, Gigas, the Giant. He then adds; Propter duas Canes et Leporem quæ ſunt in viciniâ, poetæ fabulati Oriona fuiſſe venationis

venationis ſtudioſum: iſque, in cœlo exiſtens, fuerit ſicut Nimrod, Gibbor Sajid, i. e. Gigas, ſeu Potens venatione coram Domino. In this place I cannot but diſſent from Dr. Hyde, and think there is far more truth than fable in the ſuppoſition that Orion and Nimrod mean the ſame perſon. The whole of the remaining conſtellations of the ſouthern hemiſphere, are compoſed of *aquatic* objects, or animals, and may be conſidered, as pointedly alluſive to a GENERAL DELUGE, *at leaſt*, as pointedly as any of the others can be *to the expedition of the Argonauts*.

So far Dr. Hyde in his profound aſtronomical commentary upon Ulug Beg, was of uſe to guide my adventurous ſtep through this dangerous ground, as far as I know, untrodden before; and from this author, and the elegant verſion of the aſtronomy of Alfraganus, by the learned Golius, I acquired ſuch a knowledge of the Perſian and Arabian aſtronomy, as enabled me to proceed with increaſing confidence in this complicated enquiry. The Egyptians, however, who during the revolution of ſo many centuries, devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of this ſcience, and who were ſo univerſally celebrated as the moſt expert aſtronomers in the ancient world,

world, appeared to merit ſtill more attentive examination. Fortunately, in the ſecond volume of Kircher's Œdipus Ægyptiacus there is preſerved that invaluable relic of antiquity, the ancient ſphere of the philoſophic progeny of Mizraim, in many of the fabulous characters and hieroglyphic delineations engraved upon it, totally different from that of the Chaldæans, but ſtill bearing each to the other ſuch a general feature of ſimilitude, as to demonſtrate their originating in the fertile invention of the ſame race, and their correſpondence to the early events of one common country. In my obſervations upon this ſphere I have remarked, that though Kircher might be, in ſome inſtances, what Warburton repreſents him, (a learned viſionary) yet, as he was indefatigable in procuring, from every quarter, the hieroglyphic ſymbols of Egyptian knowledge, their genuineneſs may be depended on, when his conjectures poſſibly may not. I ſhall not however prolong theſe pages, by dwelling at preſent on any particular inſtances that might be brought to illuſtrate the foregoing aſſertion; but ſhall paſs on to the curſory conſideration of one or two remarkable circumſtances that ſtruck my eye, in reviewing the ſolar and lunar Zodiacs of

India:

India: in the former of which there is, in my opinion, a ſtrong corroborative teſtimony of that deluge which the Brahmins ſo peremptorily deny ever to have taken place in Hindoſtan. It is in the ſign Virgo, who, as Sir William Jones obſerves on that zodiac, "is drawn ſtanding on a boat in water, holding in one hand a lamp, and in the other an ear of rice-corn;‡ circumſtances which equally recall to our remembrance the Egyptian Iſis, and the Eleuſinian Ceres with the nocturnal gloom, in which their rites were celebrated; as they do the awful event, which I have united my humble efforts with Mr. Bryant to prove thoſe rites depicted.§ With reſpect to the NAC SHATRA, or Manſions of the Moon, which form the Lunar zodiac, it is poſſible that the argument I have brought to prove that this very curious mode of meaſuring out the heavens, ſo totally foreign to, and unknown in, all the ſyſtems of European aſtronomy, originated among the aſtronomers of India, may be thought deciſive: viz. that it could not be *borrowed* from Chaldæa, or Arabia, becauſe the Lunar Zodiac of India con-

‡ See the Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. ii. p. 292.

§ See page 358, of this volume of Diſſertations.

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fists, and ever did consist, of twenty-seven mansions only; while, according to Costard, that of Chaldæa, and, according to Hyde, that of Arabia have ever contained twenty-eight mansions. Besides the curious catalogue of animals and objects, almost all of them peculiar to India, by which those mansions are distinguished, such as the head and teeth of the elephant, sacred conques, an instrument used in their temples, and *Indian tabors*, afford additional proof of this assertion. One however of the asterisms of that zodiac is not so peculiarly Indian, since we find among the number, *an oblation to the gods*, noticed before; which I as firmly believe to be allusive to the offering of Noah when he descended from the ark, as I am convinced the *two-faced image*, delineated on another, does to Noah himself, the only true *Janus Bifrons* of the ancient world; and *the three Steps of Veeshnu*, which form another of these mansions, do to some forgotten notions of the *true* Trinity; a subject which the reader will find so largely investigated near the close of the present volume. However, in my history of the three first Indian Avatars, I have been able to adduce far more decisive evidence, relative to the general deluge, than can be collected

from any ſymbols, or diſplayed in any hieroglyphics whatſoever. Nothing but the abſtruſe and intricate nature of the ſubjects concerning which it treats could have prevented, long ago, the appearance of that volume, in which all theſe particulars are enumerated; but as I have now toiled through the moſt difficult part of it, the compariſon of the ſeveral Eaſtern ſyſtems of the Coſmogony; and as nearly three hundred pages of it are already printed off, my ſubſcribers may expect the firſt volume of my Hiſtory, with elegant engravings of ſome of the principal AVATARS, and inſcribed, where gratitude dictates, to the Court of Directors, in a few months from the date of this preface.

One principal inducement, next to the higher motives, explained above, for entering into this wide aſtronomical range, was the anxious wiſh by this means to throw light upon the obſcure annals, and involved chronology of ancient India, an object which has been effectually obtained by it. To that important point I have directed all the ſcattered rays of information, which I could collect in the courſe of theſe reſearches; and although I have by this means been enabled, I truſt ſucceſsfully, to combat the claims of the Brah-

mits to such stupendous antiquity, as that insisted on by them, yet have I not neglected, at the same time, to substantiate every just and well founded claim the Hindoos can urge to superiority, either in regard to their early civilization, or their rapid progress to perfection, in arts and sciences, when those assumptions do not militate against all the received opinions and traditions of mankind. Notwithstanding their absurd geographical notions, which the reader will find exhibited, from Sanscreet authority, in page 88 of this volume; yet there is every reason, from the doctrine of the seven superior BOBUNS, or purifying spheres, through which they supposed the transmigrating soul to pass; and from the CIRCULAR DANCE in which, according to the historian Lucian, in his Treatise de Saltatione, they worshiped the orb of the Sun, to believe they had, in the most early periods, discovered that the earth in form was *spherical*, and that the *planets revolved round the Sun*. Besides the knowledge of the true solar system, which Pythagoras most probably learned in India, there is every reason to think that they were acquainted with spherical trigonometry, and that something very much like the Newtonian system of attraction

and

and gravitation was known among them. Indeed Sir William Jones seems to confirm this, when he informs us, that "the works of YAVAN ACHARYA are said to include a system of the universe, founded on the principle of ATTRACTION, and the CENTRAL position of the Sun," which I think it is far more likely Pythagoras learned of this philosopher in India, than this Brahmin of Pythagoras in Greece; for to have gone thither he must have renounced the self-sufficient character of that haughty tribe, and have violated a leading precept of the religion and policy of Brahma. This very early knowledge of the great fundamental principles of astronomy, seems to be incontestably proved by a passage, which immediately follows in the third discourse of Sir William Jones, "that the names of the planets and zodiacal stars, which the Arabs borrowed from the Greeks, are found in the oldest Indian records."* In short, while I have anxiously endeavoured to do justice to the superior claims to credit of the Mosaic system, I have been careful not to do the Brahmins injustice. I have that kind of partiality which every historian possesses for the nation whose

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 430.

history

hiſtory he is probably induced by that very partiality to record; but I truſt, it has ſeldom miſguided my judgment, and in no inſtances falſified my narration.

Our path thus cleared through the mazes of ancient aſtronomical mythology; and the hiſtory of the TEN AVATARS, or deſcents of Veeſhnu, in a human form, which ſeem to be of a ſimilar nature with the TEN SARI of Chaldæa, and the TEN SEPHIROTH of the Hebrews, extenſively explained, the ſerious body of claſſical hiſtory will commence towards the middle of the firſt volume, with an account of the ſucceſſive irruptions of the Aſſyrians, the Perſians, and Grecians, into that beautiful country, the delightful ſurvey of which, has in every age of the world awakened the envy, inflamed the jealouſy, and ſtimulated the avarice of neighbouring deſpots. The alternate operation of theſe baſe and degrading paſſions has too frequently contributed to cover the moſt fertile plains which Aſia can boaſt with ſterility, and deluge them with the blood of the innocent natives. Of the plan upon which this portion of the enſuing hiſtory, taken from the claſſical writers of Greece and Rome, and the Perſian and Arabian hiſtorians,

historians will be conducted, an ample prospectus is given in my letter to the Directors of 1790; to that letter I must refer the reader, and he will there find an abridged account of most of the authors, Oriental and European, cited in the course of the History. I have neglected no means in my power of making this work a complete analysis of Indian history. I have penetrated to the fountain head of all authentic intelligence which concerns that region, and commencing my narrative at the remotest known æra of great national events, have brought it down to the latest that can at all deserve the notice of regular history; even from that Semiramis whom Diodorus describes as pouring her millions upon its ravaged frontiers, to that disastrous moment when, according to the recent relations of Mr. Frazer and Sir W. Jones, the sanguinary usurper of the throne of the SEFI's planted the standard of Persia upon the battlements of DELHI.

To an undertaking thus comprehensive in its design, and important in regard to its objects, an undertaking generally allowed to be, at this moment, *a desideratum in Literature*, it might naturally have been expected, that not only the Court of Directors

themselves,

themſelves, who, in fact, manifeſted by their reſolution, ſo early and ſo flattering an attention to the addreſs of the author; but that all thoſe gentlemen in their ſervice, or otherwiſe, who from ſituation or connection could not be indifferent to Indian concerns, would have extended their powerful ſupport and patronage.

It was not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the man of buſineſs would be intereſted by the faithful detail profeſſed to be given of commercial tranſactions, during ſo many revolving centuries, and that the man of letters would be induced decidedly to ſupport a production recommended by a circumſtance equally novel and gratifying; that *in one work, of ſmall expence,* was to be combined the ſubſtance of all the moſt eſteemed Perſian and Arabian hiſtorians upon the ſubject, of whoſe productions correct and elegant verſions have been yet preſented to the public; productions mouldering upon the ſhelves of public libraries, or depoſited in the inacceſſible muſeums of learned individuals; productions equally high in value and difficult to be procured.

For myſelf, conſcious that I had by continued enquiry, by extenſive reading, and intenſe

intenſe application, endeavoured to prepare myſelf for the important taſk in which I had engaged, I too eagerly indulged thoſe ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs, which were entertained by the private circle of my friends. Enjoying from nature a very ample portion of thoſe high and volatile ſpirits, which as they are often in early youth the occaſion of many errors, afterwards regretted, ſo in riper years they too frequently buoy up, with falſe hopes, the deluded imagination; I ſuffered thoſe ſpirits to betray me into the moſt fatal deluſions. I exulted in the fair proſpect that a life early marked by the viciſſitudes of fortune, or rather, continually paſſed in the extremes of gay hope and gloomy diſappointment, as it approached its meridian, was likely to be cheared with the dawn of ſucceſs, and a ſhare of probable independance; that ſome moiety of the public applauſe would be the conſequence of inceſſant efforts to merit it, and that an adequate portion of emolument would be the reward of ſevere literary toil. I therefore embarked in the purchaſe of the various books, charts, and engravings, neceſſary for the compoſition or elucidation of my work, a conſiderable part of a ſmall fortune, which fell to

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*me by the untimely death of a near and be*loved relative, and as I was ſettled in the country, remote from the convenience of a public library, and was conſtantly in want of many expenſive publications in regard to India, which, indeed, from their recent date. no public library could furniſh, I continued to accumulate expences of this kind, till a ſenſe of prudence compelled me to reſort to the bookſeller to know the reſult of the diſtribution of my propoſals, and the publication of my advertiſements. Let it for ever repreſs the ardour of romantic ambition, and the enthuſiaſtic dreams of authors unknown to fame, and unprotected by patrons inveſted with the enſigns of power, and ſtationed at the helm of political eminence, that in the courſe of twelve months, THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN, a work ſanctioned by the approbation of THE EAST INDIA COMPANY in England, and SIR WILLIAM JONES in India, was able to obtain only *a dozen* ſubſcribers!—It was not, however, a little flattering to the author, that amongſt that number of unſolicited ſubſcribers, was the Marquis of Lanſdown, who ſent an agent to enquire concerning the author, and to expreſs his lordſhip's hope that "ſo meritorious

a work

a work *might not* sink *for* want of proper support." His Lordship could only form a judgment of its possible merit from my Letter to the Directors, of which I printed a thousand, at the expence of Forty Pounds, and have since been obliged to distribute them gratis.

However deeply wounded were my feelings at this, I trust, unmerited neglect, especially from those high and eminent persons, to whom, I was from good authority informed that an History of Hindostan upon an enlarged and comprehensive scale, would be of all things the most acceptable; they were still more deeply goaded, when, unwilling to venture farther in an undertaking that seemed to threaten total ruin to any individual, two or three of the most respectable booksellers to whom I immediately offered my work, declined having any thing to do with a production which, it was predicted, the superior pen, and the transcendant abilities of Dr. ROBERTSON, would not fail to crush in the embryo.

To names exalted into celebrity by the veneration of vulgar ignorance, and the clamour of popular admiration, always *violent* but seldom *just*, the mind, accustomed to

think independently and liberally, disdains to pay unmerited homage. But to a name so deservedly eminent as that of Dr. Robertson, I bow with submission proportioned to the real respect which I entertain for his writings and his virtues. Had his Historical Disquisition at all appeared to me to render unnecessary an undertaking, proposed to be conducted on a far more extensive scale, I should certainly have paid that deference to *him*, which I deem it not necessary to pay to others, and have relinquished the field to so able a writer of History. But, since our undertakings can by no means be said to clash, and are executed on principles widely different, I trust my perseverance will not be imputed to improper vanity; nor mistaken for idle competition. The field is open to all, and the range is ample. If it should not be in my power to obtain the first laurel; a second, and no ignoble palm, may yet be mine.

Disappointed in my hopes, and injured in my property, my work treated with contempt by some, and with neglect by others, I still relaxed not from the vigorous prosecution of it. I felt that the active spark of honest ambition, enkindled in my mind, was far from being extinguished; nor was I entirely de-

serted

ſerted, at this trying criſis, by thoſe conſtitutional ſpirits which I have ſometimes found to riſe in proportion to the urgency of adverſity; and which, amidſt the various ſcenes of a checquered life, have often enabled me to trample on greater difficulties than even theſe.

In ſpite therefore of menaced ruin both to reputation and fortune, I determined to perſevere; and commencing thoſe ſtrenuous exertions, which, I had hitherto neglected to make, in the hope that a work, ſo generally deemed a Deſideratum, would make its own way, the ſcene became ſuddenly and agreeably changed. The friends who yet remained to me at Oxford, were not deficient in their endeavours to ſerve me; and I was repeatedly told to look to the Seat of Science for that Support, with which it was humbly hoped an effort in literature would be honoured. The inſtant that my views were candidly ſtated, and the real object of this hiſtorical inveſtigation came to be more generally known, I had no reaſon to complain of a want of due encouragement from men of learning and diſtinction.

Dr WETHERELL, the Maſter of Univerſity College, ever anxious to promote the intereſt of

of thoſe who have been educated at the College over which he has ſo long and honourably preſided, on my application to him, readily and warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of my book. I had ſoon the happineſs of proving that characters ſo eminent in the path of genius and erudition, as are Dr. PARR, and Sir WILLIAM SCOTT, were by no means indifferent to the ſucceſs of their former pupil; ſince they, at once, animated my deſponding mind by commendation, and, by their perſonal exertions, promoted the ſucceſs of my work. The reſult of theſe united efforts of my friends to prevent a publication, which they thought meritorious, from being entirely laid aſide, is evident in the reſpectable, though not numerous, liſt of ſubſcribers prefixed to this volume; which, however defective in names, celebrated in the records of Indian fame, contains many illuſtrious by rank, eminent in talents, and diſtinguiſhed by private worth. They are indeed ſuch names as muſt reflect luſtre on any publication, and it ſhall be the unceaſing ſtudy of my life, to merit ſuch exalted patronage.

In reſpect to the general neglect with which the undertaking in which I have embarked, has had the misfortune to be treated by thoſe gentlemen, to whom, from their connection with

that

that country, it might be ſuppoſed an Hiſtory of India, upon a more extended baſis than what I originally propoſed, would be highly acceptable; it is far from my wiſh to think with ſentiments of acrimony, or retort the language of contempt. Were I indeed inclined to *retaliate*, opportunity might not be wanting, in the future pages of this Hiſtory, to launch forth into the uſual ſtrain of inflamed invective, againſt the enormities aſſerted to have been committed in India, by certain characters, equally hoſtile to literature and freedom, who are *ſuppoſed* to have grown rich by the plunder, and ſplendid by the beggary and maſſacre, of their fellow creatures. By an author inclined to indulge a ſatirical vein, an infinite deal of eloquence might again be diſplayed in painting a vaſt continent deluged with blood, and in bemoaning the untimely fate of millions expiring in the pangs of artificial famine. Eloquence and Truth, however, do not always unite in the ſame page. Whatever real foundation there may be for believing that ſome dark tranſactions of this kind have taken place in India, in thoſe remote regions where the reſtraining arm of the ſupreme executive power, could leſs effectually check extortion; and where the

the disinterested generosity of a late chief governor, could be less conspicuously visible; it is a fact notoriously evident that these accounts have, in many respects, been enormously magnified. This work will be conducted upon principles very dissimilar from those which disseminate calumny, and point invective. I have declared in my neglected letter to the Directors, that I will endeavour to fulfil the character of "AN UPRIGHT AND IMPARTIAL HITORIAN, TOTALLY FREE FROM THE VIOLENCE OF PARTY, WITHOUT THE TEMPORISING SERVILITY THAT DISGUSTS, AND THE INTEMPERATE ARDOUR THAT OFFENDS" It is my intention, steadily, and invariably, to adhere to that line of conduct; and though Usurpation and Tyranny, arrayed in imperial purple, and gorgeous in the spoil of nations, *ought never to* enjoy their ill-gotten grandeur, uncensured by the warning voice of history, that censure should be manly, open, decisive; and pointed rather against the offence than the individual. In fact, however, during the extensive review which I have been obliged to take of the successive transactions of Persians, Tartars, Venetians, Portugueze, *Dutch, French, and English*, with the *Indians*;

ans; the proceedings of the latter, except in the inftance of a few daring and unprincipled individuals, whofe extortions no incorporated affembly of merchants, however inflexibly virtuous themfelves, can ever wholly prevent, have appeared to me to be by far the moft candid, the moft upright, and the moft irreproachable. Such are my real fentiments, and I unfold them without the remoteft idea of flattering or offending any creature breathing, either in Afia, or Europe.

I am willing to believe that this neglect has arifen from the apparent plaufibility of an argument, which, either jealous competition or inventive malevolence has thought proper to advance, in regard to this undertaking, with far more pertinacity than truth. What, thefe rafh calumniators have urged, either novel or interefting can poffibly be expected from an author who has never vifited the remote region which he profeffes to defcribe; who has never on the fpot examined the annals he undertakes to detail; nor converfed with the people whofe hiftory and manners he records? To this objection I truft the following, with every candid mind, will be a fufficient anfwer.

It was the good fortune of M. SONNERAT, and M. NIEBUHR, to have viſited in perſon, the ſcenes which their accurate and entertaining volumes deſcribe; but they travelled with peculiar advantages, and at the expence of *royal munificence.** What they ſaw they faithfully deſcribed; and mankind are highly indebted to them for their labours, nor have I in particular failed to profit by them; but let it be remembered that a knowledge of Indian Antiquities was not to be gained by a tranſient viſit to the traders on the coaſt of Coromandel, or Malabar; nor, had it been poſſible to penetrate even to BENARES, are the Brahmins of that celebrated univerſity able fully to explain the principles of their own theology and ſciences. This is particularly true in regard to their aſtronomy, ſince they are ignorant of the right application of thoſe ſtupendous inſtruments, deſcribed ſo accurately

* The numerous and explanatory engravings in the expenſive volumes of theſe travellers, have infinitely contributed towards the elucidation of the Indian Antiquities. Without thoſe of Niebuhr, it would have been impoſſible to have given any correct idea of the figures at Salſette, and Elephanta; and without thoſe of M. Sonnerat, the Hiſtory of the Ten Avatars would have been totally unintelligible. I have preſented my ſubſcribers with one beautiful plate from each of thoſe writers.

rately by Sir Robert Barker, in the Philosophical Transactions. Besides, when we daily meet with so many who have penetrated, even into the regions of Upper Hindostan, who both know so little, and have written so absurdly, about India, this objection, methinks, should have been urged with somewhat more caution and temper. Upon the whole therefore nothing could be more more unjust or cruel, than for these ungenerous critics, on so slender a foundation, prematurely to condemn and decry a work, of the composition of which, they must be utterly unable, from a superficial survey, to comprehend either the arduous toil, or the complicated difficulty. However, I trust, in vindication of my own injured reputation, and the persevering zeal of my friends, that in every page of the following work, the reader will find a better answer to this objection, than any in my power in this place to produce. *

There is likewise another objection which has been urged against this work, and from the consideration of which I will not shrink. "The author," it has been said, "is not acquainted with the Asiatic languages." On this subject, let the words of Sir W. Jones be remembered, that "languages are not

ſcience, but only the *medium* through which ſcience is conveyed." This remark comes with peculiar force from an author, who is, perhaps, the greateſt maſter of languages in the world; and if correct verſions, ſuch as thoſe with which himſelf and Mr. Wilkins have obliged the public, from the Sanſcreet, and ſuch as Pocock, Golius, and Greaves, have given us of Perſian and Arabian hiſtorians, can be procured, who is there that would waſte the vigour of life in the learning of languages, from which, after all, the information to be reaped will ſcarcely compenſate the toil? Could tranſlations, to be depended upon, be obtained in ſo extenſive a degree as I may require for the conduct of this hiſtory, I can aſſure the reader that the hieroglyphic characters in which Eaſtern literature is veiled, for me, ſhould remain undiſturbed. That not being entirely the caſe, I am ſlowly endeavouring to accompliſh what Sir William, at my entrance upon this undertaking, recommended me; "to acquire a ſufficient knowledge of Perſian to enable me to give a new tranſlation of Feriſhtah;" a work, he adds, greatly in eſteem among all Indian ſcholars, but of which, Mr. Dow's tranſlation is a very looſe and imperfect one.

Hitherto,

Hitherto, however, I have had subjects far more important to attend to than the mere acquisition of languages, and when the reader is informed that through all the six hundred pages* of which this volume consists, I never had the least instruction or advice from any Indian scholar, whomsoever, in England, except a few hints during the course of writing the geographical dissertation, imparted by the good-nature of Major Rennell —when he shall reflect, that I had to *read*, to *digest*, and to *compose* what is thus offered to the public, from books which it was often necessary to ride from Woodford to London to procure, and even then not procurable, but by tedious research among the booksellers shops, and at a very considerable expence; and that the topics upon which I have written, are both very abstruse and very remote from the common line of literary investigation; he will, I trust, permit candour to predominate over severity, and instead of wondering that *so little*, he will, perhaps, be surprised that *so much* has been accomplished.

 I can

* The author regrets that in cancelling some of the sheets of this volume, which an oversight in regard to the paper rendered necessary, the pages have, in some places, been inaccurately numbered; but, on the whole, it contains rather more than six hundred.

I can indeed safely affirm, in the words of the honoured patron of my juvenile productions, the late Dr. Johnson,† that this work was " written with little assistance from the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academic bowers, but amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow" I had scarcely commenced my historical career, before I was

† My mentioning in these terms the venerated name of the late Dr. Johnson, will not, I trust, be called presumption—— There are those living who can attest the handsome manner in which he always spoke of two very early, but very different, productions of mine; THE SCHOOLBOY, written in imitation of THE SPLENDID SHILLING of Philips; and the FREE TRANSLATION OF THE ŒDIPUS TYRANNUS OF SOPHOCLES. The former may be seen in Mr. Knox's Elegant Extracts; the latter never wandered beyond the circle of the subscribers.

Indeed I cannot forbear stating a circumstance peculiarly honourable to myself, and illustrative, at once, of the natural goodness of his heart: at my entrance into orders, he wrote, unsolicited by me, a warm and friendly letter to the Master of University College, in my favour, with the proffer of a lucrative cure " if Mr. Maurice were in orders;" of which circumstance he was ignorant. I *was*, at that time, in orders, and fixed at Woodford, which particular reasons prevented my relinquishing for Bosworth, the living of his friend Dr. Taylor. The Master was so obliging as to send to me to Woodford, Dr. Johnson's letter, which I keep as a flattering memento of his friendship, and a striking proof, among others, of his enlarged philanthropy.

was called, upon an occasion the most dis-treffing to human feelings, to exchange the blooming plains of Asia and the banks of the Ganges, where I began, in imagination, to range with delight, for the rugged rocks and Lethean stream of Bristol Wells. It was indeed an occasion no less painful and distressing than the sight of distinguished worth, heightened by unaffected beauty, in the bloom of youth, slowly descending to the unfruitful grave. No sooner was that melancholy event over, for which the too much honoured lines in the Church Yard of Woodford,‡ feebly attempt to display the genuine grief of the writer, than the circum-stances

‡ As a part of these verses, very inaccurately transcribed, has appeared in the public papers, I shall make no apology for inserting them below more *correctly* and *unmutilated*. I can assure the reader that, in doing this, I have no *vanity* to gratify. To compose them was the most painful task, a task enjoined, near the close of life, by the amiable deceased, that ever agonizing poet undertook. In presenting them to the reader, however, I own I have *some* ambition to gratify. I am ambitious of paying a *public* tribute of respect to worth, untimely snatched away, and sense early matured. Indeed that tribute OUGHT PARTICULARLY TO BE PAID IN THESE PAGES, for, unpatronized as I have been, either by great men, or eminent booksellers, this work could not have appeared, had it not been for the assistance of that fortune which, by the decease of this estimable woman, de-volved

ſtances of vexation and diſappointment above re-capitulated, ſucceſſively roſe to throw an additional ſhade over the remainder of a life, which ſeems doomed to be paſſed in extremes.

These,

volved to me. Without that aid I never could have procured the various and voluminous publications, neceſſary to the elucidation of a ſubject ſo obſcure, yet important and intereſting; and if theſe volumes, by good fortune, ſhould reach poſterity, may her name and memory, that muſt ever be dear to virtue and to truth, deſcend with them, and conſecrate the page.

EPITAPH ON Mrs. MAURICE.

SERENELY bright, in bridal ſmiles array'd!
The purple ſpring its bloſſom'd ſweets diſplay'd;
While raptur'd fancy ſaw full many a year,
In bliſs revolving, urge its gay career.——
But ah! how deep a gloom the ſkies o'erſpread;
How ſwift the dear deluſive viſion fled!
Diſeaſe and pain the ling'ring hours conſume,
And ſecret feed on youth's corroded bloom.
Ceas'd are the ſongs that fill'd the nuptial grove,
The dance of pleaſure in the bow'r of love——
For Hymen's lamp funereal torches glare,
And mournful dirges rend the midnight air!
Oh! thou, whoſe cheek, the rival of the roſe,
With all the fluſh of vernal Beauty glows;
Whoſe pulſes high with youthful vigour bound,
The brighteſt fair in faſhion's mazy round,
Approach with awe the manſions of the dead,
And as the grave's drear bourn thy footſteps tread;
Mark—'midſt theſe ravages of fate and time—
Where WORTH lies buried in its lovelieſt prime;

Where

These, however, were by no means the only difficulties I have had to contend with, in the course of composing and printing, *at my own expence*, this large volume of introductory Dissertations. When nearly half of it was finished, an unfortunate incident rendered it necessary to cancel a considerable number of the sheets contained in it. Shortly after, one

Where YOUTH's extinguish'd fires no longer burn,
And BEAUTY slumbers in the mould'ring urn!
Oh! pause—and bending o'er fair STELLA's tomb,
Mourn *her* hard lot, and read *thy* future doom!
Soft lie the sod that shields from wint'ry rains,
And blasting winds, my STELLA's lov'd remains:
May angels guard the consecrated ground,
And flowers, as lovely, bloom for ever round!
Meek sufferer—who, by nameless woes oppress'd,
The patience of th' expiring lamb possess'd;
When, many a tedious moon, thy fever'd veins
Throbb'd with the raging HECTIC's fiery pains.
Nor heav'd a sigh—save that alone which bore
Triumphant virtue to a happier shore—
STELLA, whose streaming eye ne'er ceas'd to flow,
When sorrow pour'd the plaint of genuine woe,
Whose mind was pure as that unsullied ray,
That beams from heav'n, and lights the orb of day;
Sweet be thy slumbers on this mossy bed,
Till the last trump shall rouse the sleeping dead;
Then, having nought from that dread blast to fear
Whose echo shall convulse the crumbling sphere,
In fairer beauty wake—a heav'nly bride,
And rise an ANGEL, who a MARTYR died!

one of the worthieſt men of the profeſſion, who was engaged in the printing it, having, from unavoidable loſſes, had the misfortune *to fail*, much of it when compoſed, but not printed off, neceſſarily paſſed under the hammer of the auctioneer, and was obliged to be bought in, in that ſtate, for the author. After all, it comes before the public, under the diſparaging circumſtances that no fair copy of it was ever tranſcribed for the preſs, and that moſt of the ſheets that compoſe it, were never ſeen by any eyes but thoſe of the author, which are not the beſt: and as thoſe eyes, ſtill more debilitated by daily poring over numerous volumes, could not engage in the toil of fair tranſcription; ſo neither could an accurate amanuenſis, for a work in which ſo many uncouth Aſiatic names of places, and perſons, conſtantly occur, ever be obtained at any reaſonable rate. An immoderate expence of that kind, would have been attended with inconvenience to the author; and an incorrect tranſcriber would have created more trouble than he could poſſibly have done ſervice. I truſt, however, that the errata, of which, conſequently, ſome few may be expected, are only thoſe of a *literal* kind; for I have kept too cloſe to the reſpectable authors

hereafter

hereafter enumerated, to admit of any important errors in the investigation of the various ſubjects diſcuſſed in it. I have no intention, in recapitulating theſe diſagreeable particulars, to excite the compaſſion or diſarm the ſeverity of the public cenſors, who are now to paſs judgment upon this work, but only mention them as the beſt apology I can offer for the LONG DELAY in preſenting the public with this volume, which ought to have made its appearance in the courſe of laſt year. The public tribunal is an awful court, and I approach it with all the diffidence which a firſt effort, by an unaided individual, towards executing an extenſive literary work, cannot fail of inſpiring; but I know the judges, preſiding at that tribunal, are neither to be ſoothed by intreaty, nor intimidated by menaces. It is in vain, if unmerited, to hope for the favour of the public; or to divert its cenſures, if deſerved. "I have now ſet my *all* upon a caſt; and I *muſt* ſtand the hazard of the die."

Having thus far conſidered the objections that *have been made* to this work, I muſt beg leave, before I conclude theſe introductory remarks to mitigate the force of one, or two, that *may* be urged againſt it. The firſt, and not

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the least formidable, will probably be pointed against the *orthography* of the proper names of Indian persons and places. This I own is one of the greatest difficulties which an historian of Asiatic events has to encounter; for to attempt always to give them with undeviating correctness, is to attempt little less than an impossibility. When I first commenced this history, I had resolved to follow the example of those, who have endeavoured to write every Indian word exactly as it is pronounced in India; and the Dictionary of Mr. Richardson, in which the author, as he himself informed me, followed the orthographical instructions of the late Major Davy, Persian Translator to Mr. Hastings, seemed to be the most certain guide. But to Major Davy's system, I afterwards found material objections were made, in the Dissertation of Sir William Jones, on the Orthography of Asiatic words, which so properly ranks foremost among the valuable papers in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches; and I have since, in general, adopted his own method, and those of Mr. Halhed, and Mr. Wilkins. But the profound observations in that treatise, concerning the Sanscreet language, and the proper modes of writing it, in Roman letters, as well as many

other

other remarks on this abstruse subject, by the latter gentlemen, will be exhibited to the reader, in the Dissertation on the LITERATURE of the Hindoos. In the geographical dissertation for the most part, and throughout the whole of my history, when names of places occur, I have constantly used the mode of orthography adopted by Major Rennel, who is undoubtedly the best judge of what, in that respect, is most proper. I say, in the Geographical Dissertation, *for the most part*, because in abridging the Geography of the Subahs, I was compelled often to adopt the language of Mr. Gladwin, the Translator, who seems scrupulously to adhere to the maxims of Major Davy. The reader will therefore find in that Dissertation, a variety of orthography which I cannot approve; but knew not well how to avoid. It was the dissertation first written, and under the general impressions of the private advice of Mr. Richardson, "to write the words as nearly as I could learn, both from his dictionary and general information, that they were pronounced;" but as that pronunciation itself is various in different parts of India, and even among Indian scholars themselves, my only certain guide in

 this

this dangerous path was, to keep as close as possible to the *general rule of orthography*, and to make Mr. Orme, and other authors of the highest repute, my examples. In observing this rule it was hardly possible for me to err materially, or beyond the extension of candour, in a point so dubious and perplexing. Acbar however will sometimes, with all my vigilance, occur for Akber; Shaw for Shah, and Cawn for Khan; to which mode of writing those appellatives, I have now thought it expedient wholly to conform: because, though Major Rennell writes Acbar and Acbaree, yet as I constantly quote the Ayeen AKBERY of Mr. Gladwin, in the *notes* to my history, it seemed absurd to have ACBAR in the *text*; or *Shaw* and *Cawn* above, while I cite the Nadir SHAH of Sir William Jones, and Abulgazi KHAN the Tartar historian, at the bottom of the page.

But, possibly, not against mere *words* alone will the artillery of Criticism be discharged. The general style which I have adopted, in writing the history of Hindostan, may also provoke censure, and these pages may be thought to abound too much with those desultory rhetorical flourishes, so common, and and often so disgusting, in Asiatic productions,

tions. As this objection tends peculiarly to wound certain poetical feelings which it is my misfortune to possess, I request to be heard upon it with patience and lenity.

Devoted to poetry in my earliest youth, or rather, lisping numbers from the cradle; I pursued, till within these few years, that delightful but barren path of literary amusement. It has happened too, that what my poetical exertions have produced, has not been so fortunate as to attract the public notice. Amidst continued and universal neglect, however, it is still matter of honest triumph to me that the few detached pieces, in that way, which I have written, have received the warmest tribute of applause from men who would equally disdain to *flatter* or *deceive*; from men upon whose sterling judgment and upon whose unadulterated taste I dare to rely; from men who know and feel the difference that subsists between the nerveless sing-song effusions of the day, and that sublime, energic, manly POESY, that strikes, with the force of electric fire, and seizes upon the captive heart.——It is possible, therefore, that the MUSE, the bewitching enchantress of my juvenile days; that MUSE whose smile I so long and so ardently courted, may have in

some

ſome degree corrupted my ſtyle, and vitiated my taſte in this reſpect. Indeed, it is an adage of great antiquity, that "No poet ever yet excelled in proſaic compoſition," and I have not the vanity to hope that adage will be overturned by the pages of this book. Let it, however, be candidly conſidered that this is only a firſt eſſay towards any conſiderable publication in that line of writing; compoſed amidſt the preſſure of domeſtic calamity, and profeſſional avocation; amidſt the ſuggeſtions of miſrepreſentation, and the jealouſy of competition; amidſt multifold diſcouragement and aggravated diſappointment.

Application, perſeverance, and a mind more at leiſure to reſtrain a luxuriant pen and lop off the redundancies of my ſtyle, may contribute to render my next volume more worthy of the public eye. Happy ſhall I be if the FEW who read and approved my early efforts in a branch of compoſition which I now renounce for ever, may extend a ſimilar degree of candour to my firſt effort in the line of hiſtory. I will, however, be ingenuous with my ſubſcribers; for I frankly confeſs that, of INDIA, a country where nature has ever wantoned as in her lovelieſt prime, and ſhines forth arrayed in her richeſt attire;

of

diſguſting emblem is ſo conſpicuouſly pourtrayed in all the pagodas, and ſacred caverns of India. Every reader, who at all reflects, will be ſenſible how difficult it muſt be to write on ſuch a ſubject, in words that may not offend even the eye of virgin innocence; of which claſs of readers, I truſt, a few will honour theſe pages with a peruſal. I have been as careful as poſſible to ſelect expreſſions that may unfold my meaning, without giving offence, and have, on that account, curtailed even to obſcurity, my remarks on a ſubject of which, taken up in a phyſical and philoſophical point of view, the full elucidation would require volumes; and upon which, in fact, not a few volumes have been written. I have in the following pages, conſidered that worſhip merely in a theological light, and though I am not ignorant of a great deal which has been written by Sonnerat and others, concerning the purity of morals, and intention of the firſt devotees of the Lingam, in India, and the Phallus, in Egypt; yet, I cannot avoid thinking that the leſs ſaid in praiſe or vindication of it, the better, in European countries, where more pure and nobler conceptions of the *great generative and creative power* that formed the univerſe, happily

 prevail;

prevail; where the inhabitants are not lulled in the insensible *apathy*, and divine *absorption*, of the pious Yogees; and where the ebullition of licentious passion is not so effectually curbed, by viands simple and innutritious as the rice and water of the abstracted and philosophical race of Brahma. Considered in a theological point of view, and writing, in a country professing Christianity, I trust, I have referred so indecent a devotion to its true source, the turpitude of HAM, whose Cuthite progeny introduced it into Hindostan, together with other depravities, destructive of the pure primæval religion of SHEM, or the principles of the Veeshnu sect. Even those who strenuously contend for the unsullied morality of the first institutors of the worship in question, will, doubtless, admit the truth of what I have asserted in page 337, and those immediately following, concerning the adulteration of its original purity, so evident in the prostitution of the *women of the pagoda*, and the indecencies practised in the mysterious rites of BACCHUS, and the BONA DEA, at Rome. My object, therefore, is to evince that the brevity I have observed, on a subject which, in a treatise upon the Theology of Hindostan, might naturally

naturally be expected to engross a larger portion, has proceeded from choice, not from ignorance of the extensive, and deeply physical nature of the subject, nor inattention to the prevailing manners of India.

The other subject alluded to, is that of the Metempsychosis, concerning which, and the mysterious rites of initiation in those caverns, so much has been already observed.

It is the opinion of M. Niebuhr, inserted in his chapter upon ELEPHANTA, that a full examination of the antiquities of this cavern, its form and decorations, would not only throw great light upon the ancient history of India itself, but upon the history and theologic rites of other Asiatic nations. With this hope, and with the key supplied me by Porphyry and Celsus, to unlock all the theological and philosophical mysteries, anciently celebrated in caverns; I trust, I have contributed somewhat towards removing the veil of obscurity, in which the history, the rites, and design of that astonishing excavation has been so long involved. That certain mysterious rites *were* there celebrated, has been proved, as far as analogy in theological sentiments, and similarity in the fabrication of the caverns, with those in the

mountains of Perfia, and Upper Egypt, could tend to eftablifh the proof. For to what purpofe was there the double entrance into them, by NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN GATES, according to the Homeric defcription of the Cave of the Mymphs, inferted in page 320 of this volume, of which, the North entrance was that through which the foul, in its journey of the metempfychofis, paffed to the lower fpheres, while that to the South was facred to celeftials alone; for what purpofe were intended the winding avenues; the high altars; the tanks, for ablution; and the gloomy interior receffes, but for the regular performance of fimilar ceremonies, and the arduous exercife of kindred virtues. To place, however, the difputed point beyond all doubt, I have now to inform the reader of the following intelligence. More extenfive enquiry, fince that portion of my book went to prefs, which afferted that fimilar rites were performed in the Indian caverns, as were anciently celebrated in the myftic cell of Ofiris, the cave of Mithra, and the temple of Eleufis, has obtained for me authentic information, that at this very day, fomething very much refembling the ancient notion, and practice

of

of purification, in facred caverns, continues in vogue among the Hindoos, in one of our own fettlements. In the ifland of Bombay, about two miles from the town, rifes a confiderable hill, called Malabar Hill, which, ftretching into the ocean, by its projection, forms a kind of promontory. At the extreme point of this hill, on the defcent towards the fea fhore, there is a rock, upon the furface of which there is a natural crevice, which communicates with a cavity opening below, and terminating towards the fea. "This place," fays an author, to whofe printed account of it, I was referred for corroborative evidence of its exiftence, "is ufed by the Gentoos, as a purification for their fins, which, they fay, is effected by their going in at the opening below, and emerging out of the cavity above. This cavity feems too narrow for perfons of any corpulence to fqueeze through: the ceremony, however, is in fuch high repute in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition that the famous Conajee Angria, ventured, by ftealth, one night, upon the ifland, on purpofe to perform this ceremony, and got off undifcovered." *

* See Grofe's Voyage to the Eaft Indies, vol. ii, p. 57. 2d ed.

After the accurate MAP OF ANCIENT INDIA, presented to the literary world by M. d'Anville, in his excellent treatiſe entitled ANTIQUITE GEOGRAPHIQUE DE L'INDE, it would have been preſumptuous and impertinent, to have attempted the fabrication of another. I have, therefore, had that map correctly re-engraved, as an unerring guide to the claſſical reader, while he peruſes the accounts from Ptolemy, Strabo and Pliny, in the geographical treatiſe, and purſues the rout of Alexander, through what is called the PANJAB of India, or country watered by the five great branches of the Indus; beyond which, eaſtward, the conqueſts of that invader, however magnified by the Greek hiſtorians, did not extend. In the very few alterations I have ventured to make in it, I was guided by Major Rennel's map of Northern India, in the laſt edition of his memoir. The ſituation of the Cathæi, which is not marked in D'Anville's map, except by the ſcite of Sangala, is aſcertained by that of Major Rennel, though I ought, perhaps, again to apologize for perſevering in the mode of ſpelling that Name. It was, however, agreeable to an hypotheſis adopted by me, of the propriety of which,

the

the reader muſt be the ultimate judge, and perhaps, in conformity to that hypotheſis, I ought, at once, to have adopted the orthography of Mr. Bryant, and written the word CUTHÆI. I thought it would likewiſe gratify the reader's curioſity, to ſee A NATIVE MAP OF HINDOSTAN, and among a variety offered to me, I have adopted the one which I preſumed was moſt authentic, that in the Ayeen Akbery. It is only partially explained in the diſſertation; a fuller elucidation of the meaning of the Hindoo Geographers, will be given in the chapter on the Literature of the Hindoos. Their commerce with Europeans, has been the happy occaſion of amending their groſs errors on that ſubject. In the future volumes of this work, two other maps will be preſented to the reader, for the elucidation of the Modern Hiſtory of Hindoſtan: the *former*, exhibiting the country properly called by that name; the *latter*, the peninſula, agreeable to the recent partition of the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun, among the belligerent powers, under the politic, the moderate, the judicious management of a noble commander, whoſe diſtinguiſhed magnanimity cannot fail of being blazoned on the page of hiſtory, for

pauſing

pausing in the full career of glory, to check the ardour of dangerous ambition, and remembering mercy in the moment of certain victory.

Such are the Engravings and Maps with which the book, now offered to the public, is decorated; and some of those that are now engraving for the volumes, which are immediately to succeed, are still more curious; though possibly they may not be so numerous. I again beg permission to repeat, that it is impossible to separate the ancient mythology, and ancient history of any of the great empires of Asia. He who fastidiously rejects the former, must resign all hope of comprehending the latter. With respect to the history of ancient India, it appears to me to be a species of astronomical mythology; and possibly, when more fully investigated, the Testudo of the Egyptian Hermes, and the Tortoise in which Veeshnu became incarnate, will both be found to have reference to the sign that slowly winds round the North pole. Mercury and Bhood, another incarnation of Veeshnu, evidently relate to the same planet; for the dies Mercurii of the Greeks, is, undoubtedly, the dies Bhood of India, and Bhood is the God Woden of the Gothic nations, as is evidenced

of INDIA, a country renowned through all ages, for the eloquence and wisdom of her sons of the line of BRAHMA; for the martial bravery of her rajahs of the house of KEHTREE; for the prodigies of exquisite art, and manufactures of beautiful fabrication produced by those of the tribe of BICE; as well as for the patient and unrepining gentleness, amidst accumulated insult and oppression, of the industrious and numerous family of SOODER; I never intended to write an history unanimated in sentiment, or undignified in diction. How, indeed was it possible to write with frigid indifference of the land of elegant fiction and beautiful allegory—Has not M. Sonnerat?—has not Sir William Jones?—has not M. Raynal?—in short, have not all preceding writers on this subject, who have possessed any spark of animation to feel, any nerve of language to express those feelings, or any glow of genius to impress them on the breasts of others, alternately launched forth into the warmest strains of admiration on the survey of the virtues, learning, fortitude, and industry of this innocent and secluded race of men.

Let it be further remembered, in mitigation of the error of a style somewhat, I own,

too lofty, and luxuriant, that some of the most important and animating subjects that can possibly be discussed, have, in the course of writing these pages, successively arisen for consideration—the purest, the sublimest system of theology, next to the Jewish and Christian, ever established upon earth; and, when degenerating into idolatry, branching out either into the most splendid rites of the most elevated superstition—the MITHRATIC devotion—that is, the worship of the Sun and shining Host of Heaven: or else, assuming the most gloomy habit in which that Superstition can possibly array herself, in which she terrifies mankind into the WORSHIP OF MALIGNANT DÆMONS, and all the accumulated horrors of HUMAN SACRFICES. Let it be remembered that the ancient glory of empires so renowned as those of Hindostan and Egypt, the stately temples of their gods, and the superb palaces of their kings, engage no inconsiderable part of these extended speculations: and that I have been, throughout, occupied in the alternate contemplation of objects the most magnificent in the circuit of nature; * or, the

* I wish, particularly in this passage, to apologize for the manner in which, towards the close of the Geographical Dissertations,

the moſt venerable and beautiful in the compaſs of art. It ſeemed to me *requiſite*, that the loftieſt ſubjects ſhould be treated of in language more than uſually elevated. To have written in colder terms, would have argued either want of capacity, or, what I ſhould think far more degrading, have rendered me ſuſpected of inſenſibility.

It is uſual to conclude the prefatory pages of any conſiderable work, with a grateful enumeration of benefits derived, in the courſe of compoſition, from men eminent as ſcholars, or illuſtrious by ſtation. But, ſince few advantages of that kind, more than thoſe previouſly ſpecified, have fallen to my lot, my catalogue of obligations will, neceſſarily, be not very extenſive. It would, however, be the height of ingratitude, were I, on this occaſion, to omit the tender of my warmeſt thanks to WILLIAM MONEY, JOHN HUNTER, and NATHANIEL SMITH, Eſqrs. but eſpecially to the latter gentleman, who has long proved himſelf friendly

ſertation, I have deſcribed the courſe of the mighty GANGES, and the mightier BURRAMPOOTER. But what author could remain unanimated when introducing to the reader's notice objects ſo little known to the learned of Europe? Objects equally aſtoniſhing and magnificent.

to the diffusion of Indian knowledge,† for their obliging recommendation of my undertaking to the Court of Directors, in 1790, by which it received the sanction of a patronage which has been of material service to this infant work, and, I hope, that the patronage, thus liberally extended, will not be found to be degraded in the execution of it: especially when the abstruse nature of many of the subjects discussed, and the slender sources from which any genuine History of ANCIENT

INDIA

† It ought to be remembered that both the BHAGVAT-GEETA and the HEETOPADES, were ushered into the world under the auspices of the same gentleman, who has so kindly forwarded the interests of this humbler attempt to elucidate the History and Antiquities of India.

When British merchants thus endeavour to blend the interests of LITERATURE with those of COMMERCE, they throw a lustre upon the distinguished station which they enjoy; a lustre which wealth alone, however ample, or honourably obtained, can never bestow. They bring to our remembrance the days of those celebrated Caliphs of the East, equally distinguished for their love of literature and arms, when Trade and Science travelled, side by side, through the sultry deserts of Arabia, in mutual quest of riches and knowledge; and heard, with rapture, the poems repeated, which were afterwards suspended in the august temple of the grand mart of Mecca. It is to the eternal honour of this country, that we have not, in every period of its progress to its present prosperity, wanted many a SPEED, to cultivate, and many a GRESHAM, to patronize, SCIENCE.

INDIA can be drawn, ſhall have been candidly conſidered.

It would be equally ungrateful, were I to forget making the acknowledgments which are due from me to WILLIAM GODFREY, Eſq. as well for the free uſe of ſuch books as deſcended to him from his predeceſſors at Woodford, as for very early encouragement to proceed in theſe hiſtorical reſearches; the firſt idea of which originated, during my reſidence there, in repeated converſations with that gentleman on Indian topics; converſations fraught with inſtruction, and remembered with pleaſure.

To ROWLAND STEPHENSON, Eſq. my warmeſt thanks are alſo due, for indulging me, in addition to many inſtances of long-experienced friendſhip, with the examination of the papers of his upright relation, GOVERNOR STEPHENSON, who had the honour, in company with Mr. SURMAN, of obtaining from the Emperor MOHAMMED FURRUKHSEER, at Delhi, that *firmaun* by which the Eaſt India Company became entitled, under the ſanction of the Mogul Monarchs, before the ſubverſion of their empire, to very extenſive commercial privileges. As Mr. STEPHENSON filled a high ſtation in India, during one of

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the darkeſt and moſt ſanguinary periods of its modern domeſtic hiſtory, when the tyranny of the SEYDS, thoſe mighty Omrahs, dethroned, or murdered, five ſucceſſive ſovereigns of the imperial houſe of TIMUR, I *expected,* and *have found* material information from the peruſal of them. In one of the letters of this Gentleman to the Chief of Patna, his ſucceſſor, he declares it to be the determined reſolution of Himſelf, and the Council of Calcutta, "not to interfere with the politics of the country; but to carry on their trade *quietly*, and only to defend the COMPANY'S ESTATE:" a wiſe and prudent maxim, which ſome may think ill exchanged for others of an ambitious and turbulent kind.‡

Such

‡ After all, however, it muſt be confeſſed, that Europe and Aſia can never be governed by the ſame political code. The genius and manners of the inhabitants of the two continents, are diametrically oppoſite; and nations, among whom the reſtleſs ambition and violence of individuals, even in private life, are frequently marked with a moſt ſanguinary character, while vice, in the great and powerful, as frequently breaks forth in deeds of public and aggravated enormity, can no more be kept under controul by the mild, the humane, but tardy policy eſtabliſhed in European countries, than Europe will ever ſubmit to be governed by the deſpotic maxims that prevail in moſt Aſiatic governments. It may with truth be affirmed, that the natives of the Britiſh Eaſt India ſettlements, are the happieſt ſubjects in the whole extent of Aſia; at leaſt ſince the overthrow of the mild and patriarchal government of the ancient Hindoo emperors.

Such is the ſlender liſt of literary obligations which I am under in carrying on this work. If, however, it has not been my good fortune to be favoured with the aſſiſtance of eminent living ſcholars, I have not wanted that of their writings, nor thoſe of the ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD. In proof of this, I now preſent the reader with a liſt of ſuch books as I have, at an enormous expence, provided for the completion of the Indian Hiſtory; and, as I have not always been ſo accurate in my references as I ought, I ſhall add their reſpective dates, particular editions, and the place where they were printed. Such authentic tranſlations as I have conſulted, I ſhall ingenuouſly give; for, in my opinion, uſeful knowledge is not to be deſpiſed, from whatſoever quarter it can be obtained. The liſt thus ſubjoined may be of ſervice to others, in the purſuit of ſimilar ſtudies; and, by thoſe who are acquainted with the value of ſome of the volumes enumerated, and the great ſcarcity of others, may, poſſibly, be conſidered as altogether compoſing no contemptible collection of ASIATIC HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES.

From a ſurvey of the extenſive preparations made by me for completing the HISTORY

TORY

TORY OF HINDOSTAN, the reader muſt perceive that what I now offer to the patronage of the public, will not be the production of a few leiſure hours, but of many years of contemplation and ſtudy; or, to ſpeak more truly, the inceſſant labour of a life, of which, ſome portion of the fleeting moments hath already been ſuffered to elapſe un-improved —of a life which may poſſibly be ſhortened by the toil of compoſing, if not embittered by the conſequences of the expence incurred, in publiſhing ſo hazardous a work. I cannot therefore conclude this addreſs by ſaying with my deceaſed friend Dr. Johnſon, that I diſmiſs this introductory volume with "frigid tranquility;" ſince I have much to apprehend from CENSURE, and ſomewhat to hope from APPROBATION.

Great Ruſſel Street,
Auguſt 1ſt, 1792.

ADDENDA, relative to the MAPS and ENGRAVINGS, with which this volume is decorated; respectfully addressed to the Patrons and Encouragers of the HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

WHEN, in the year 1790, I first laid before the public, proposals for the ensuing History of Hindostan, my intention was to adorn the work, with only an occasional map, illustrative of its ancient and its modern geography. At the same time, induced solely by the consideration of making it more generally useful, I intended and hoped to have compressed the vast mass of events, transacted during the period of, at least, three thousand years, into the small compass of three octavo volumes, with a concise introductory dissertation on the geography, the theology, and the laws and customs of the Hindoos, prefixed to each volume. Under the influence of the same impressions, I fixed the price of subscription to the three volumes, at the moderate sum of ONE GUINEA. In vain, however, did I attempt to execute the work upon that contracted and economical plan. I soon found that the brevity intended to have been adopted, was totally incompatible with the

various, the extenſive, and important ſubjects, which I had undertaken to elucidate; and that, had I ſtrictly adhered to the literal tenor of the original propoſals, the unavoidable conſequence muſt have been, that an additional and ten-fold obſcurity would have veiled ſubjects, already of themſelves, ſufficiently dark and intricate. Dr. Johnſon's deſcription of the ſublime genius of Shakeſpear, who, like the Indian Brahmins, ſoared far above vulgar conceptions and the received traditions of mankind, ſeemed, to me, very applicable to the genius of Sanſcreet Hiſtory.

> EXISTENCE ſees it ſpurn her bounded reign,
> And panting TIME toils after it in vain.

Upon explaining to my friends, the diſagreeable dilemma in which I had been plunged by my deſire to accommodate them, with a work, in which economy and utility ſhould be united, it was their decided opinion, that the original plan was too contracted, and the propoſed price of the production far inferior to the importance of the ſubject; that perſpicuity ought not to be ſacrificed to unneceſſary brevity; and that, while books made uſe of in the *elucidation, only, of this work,* were vended at the high prices of five, ten, and fifteen guineas, the price of the work itſelf

itſelf ought to bear ſome proportion to the expences incurred during its progreſs to completion.—In conſequence of this advice, I enlarged the original plan, and finding that on a ſubject ſo novel, yet ſo intereſting, as the mythology of Hindoſtan, that abſtruſe, but intereſting topics continually roſe for explanation, which greatly interrupted the progreſs of the hiſtorical detail, I determined to amplify the introductory portion of the work, and write diſtinct diſſertations upon the *geography*, *religion*, *laws*, and *literature*, of the Hindoos, into the body of which, all extraneous matter of that kind, diſtinct from the regular hiſtory, but by no means unconnected with it, might be thrown, and which might be occaſionally and eaſily referred to. But here a new and moſt perplexing difficulty aroſe: while I daily advanced more deeply into the OCEAN of Hindoo mythology and ſciences, ſubjects ſo uncommon, and, indeed, in ſome inſtances ſo improbable, ſucceſſively preſſed for diſcuſſion, that the force of language could not fully elucidate them; nor the moſt ſolemn atteſtations of the moſt authentic travellers give them the ſtamp of credibility. I was, therefore, to illuſtrate the ideas I wiſhed to convey, compelled to have recourſe to the

 power

power of another ſcience, and *Engraving* came in aid of her ſiſter *Mythology*

The curioſity of the reader, it was ſuppoſed, would be, doubtleſs, inflamed to contemplate that ſtupendous buſt of the triple deity of India, in the cavern of Elephanta, which forms the frontiſpiece, and of which, according to the moſt accurate delineator, Niebuhr*, the height is thirteen feet; the length of the center face, alone, is five feet; while the breadth, between the ſhoulders, expands to the enormous amount of near twenty feet. Even the relation of theſe dimenſions in company, particularly, of thoſe of the ſtupendous erections by Sultan Akber, at Se-

* The palm of ſuperior accuracy is, on all hands, ceded to this celebrated traveller. Even the ornaments of the caps on the head of this triple deity, are minutely delineated. This is ſurely an argument greatly in favour of the authenticity of the caps by Niebuhr; though the general appearance, both of the caps and the buſt, here repreſented, materially varies from that exhibited in the ſeventh volume of the Archæologia, and in the large plate, lately publiſhed, in this country, by Mr. Forbes. From a ſurvey of the engraving in the Archæologia, one would think that by the center a female figure was intended to be repreſented. In my account of this coloſſal buſt, I have myſelf adhered as ſtrictly to the written relation of the Swediſh traveller, as my engraver has to the deſign of it, in his expenſive volumes.

cundra,

cundra, near Agra; and those of the walls of the grand pagoda of Seringham, which are four miles in circumference, has often subjected me to the smile of sarcasm, and the suspicion of credulity; but we are not to judge of oriental architecture by the models of Europe, in which, as in ancient Greece, beauty rather than magnificence, is studied. It was natural for those who thought the deity best represented, as I have elsewhere observed, by gigantic sculptures, and massy symbols, to fabricate their images in conformity to *their magnified conceptions in theological* concerns, and to erect the vast edifice of dimensions proportionate to the august form of the divinity.

In an ancient Shaster, or commentary upon the Vedas, translated by Colonel Dow's pundeet, there is a passage which strikingly demonstrates the sublime, but gross, conceptions entertained by the Indians, concerning the deity, which, probably, contributed to give their immense elevation and magnitude to the sacred fabrics of Hindostan. "BRAHME, that is, the supreme god, from whom Brahma is only an *emanation*, existed from all eternity, in a form of infinite dimensions. When it pleased him to create the world, he said;

RISE

RISE UP, OH! BRAHMA.—Immediately a ſpirit of the colour of flame, iſſued from the deity; having four heads and four hands:" emblematical, I preſume, of the four elements, and the four quarters of the world. "Brahma gazing round, and ſeeing nothing but the immenſe image out of which he had proceeded, travelled for a thouſand years, in the anxious endeavour to comprehend its dimenſions. But after all his toil, he found his conceptions on that ſubject as dark as before. Loſt in amazement, Brahma gave over his journey. He fell proſtrate, and praiſed what he ſaw, with his four mouths. The Almighty then, with a voice like ten thouſand thunders, was pleaſed to ſay; Thou haſt done well, Oh! Brahma, for *thou canſt not comprehend me*†."

The whole of the eleventh chapter of the GEETA, is, at once wonderfully ſublime, and pointedly illuſtrative of their ideas of the divine being. There is alſo a paſſage, written in the true romantic ſtyle of Indian Allegoriſts, which occurs in Sir William Jones's Diſcourſe on the Chronology of the Hindoos‡, which diſplays their conceptions on

† See Dow's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, vol. i. page 50—Second Edition.

‡ Aſiatic Reſearches vol. ii. p. 115.

this point, and being concise, shall be here inserted—" A thousand great ages (centuries) are a day of BRAHMA; a thousand such days are an Indian hour of VEESHNU; six thundred thousand such hours make a period of RUDRA; and a million of *Rudras*, that is, as Sir William has reduced them to arithmetical calculation, two quadrillions five hundred and ninety-two thousand trillions of lunar years, are but a SECOND to the supreme Being." Under such awful impressions of the divine nature, who can be astonished at the magnitude and extent of the temples erected in honour of the deity by the superstitious Indian?

But to return to the subject more materially under consideration, which is that of the increased expence of these volumes, in consequence of the engravings, without which I must again affirm, the principal objects alluded to in the course of writing them, would be but faintly elucidated. By casting an eye upon the engraving of the grand pagoda, inserted in this volume, he will more easily conceive their general form of construction, than it was possible for me, by words, to inform him; and he will comprehend how easy it may be for an edifice, not covered in at the

the top, but containing, in its internal recesses, small chapels, as shrines of the gods venerated within its walls, to be erected of any proportions, however immense; while the fervour of that devotion which originally planned, continued equally to animate the Rajah and his toiling subjects, to the completion of the magnificent fabric.

That a people who, as they are represented by the correct pen of Mr. Orme, in the elegant preface to his history, shudder at the sight of blood, and are, upon that account, totally ignorant of the anatomy of the human body; that the timid and gentle Hindoo, who, from his notion of the metempsychosis, "afflicts himself at the death of a fly," and who is, perhaps, "the most pusillanimous and enervated inhabitant of the globe," should once have profusely shed, in sacrifice, the blood of *men, bulls, and horses*, is a stupendous phænomenon in the history of human nature; it is, however, a solemn fact, and the reality of its existence, in very remote æras, is, I trust, sufficiently demonstrated in the following pages. Without an engrav- of Cali, or Callee, the sable goddess to whom human victims were occasionally sacrificed; a work of this kind must have been im-

imperfect: but of the only two portraits which I ever ſaw, of that deity, the one is exhibited in Mr. Holwell's *Hiſtorical Events*, and the other in the firſt volume of the *Aſiatic Reſearches*. Of theſe I wiſhed rather to preſent the reader with the former, which was copied by Mr. Holwell's artiſt, from the walls of an ancient pagoda, and is the one moſt deſcriptive of her ſavage character, and nefarious rites. But as the venerable author is, to the great happineſs of a moſt numerous, and reſpectable circle of friends, ſtill living; and as our opinions on the ſubject unfortunately claſh, I felt myſelf very delicately ſituated in regard to copying it, as I did not think proper to have it engraved without his permiſſion; and I could only produce it in proof of an hypotheſis different from his own. From this dilemma, however, I was ſoon relieved, by the kindneſs of his liberal and obliging relation, William Birch, Eſq. of Dean Street; and the figure has been engraved on a contracted plate, with equal fidelity and ſpirit.

That ſuperſtitious veneration for the Sun and Fire, which, in the earlieſt ages diffuſed itſelf from Ur, of Chaldæa, through all the Aſiatic world, conſtitutes too remarkable

and prominent a feature in the Religion of Hindoftan, not to be confpicuoufly brought before the eye of the reader, in an engraving explanatory of its myftic rites? The important magnitude of the fubject, and the extenfive prevalence of that fuperftition, feemed, indeed, to demand from a writer on oriental hiftory and antiquities, more than common attention, and therefore the exertions of the engraver have been called forth to furnifh my fubfcribers with *three plates* elucidatory of that fplendid idolatry. Of all the differtations on this curious worfhip, fince Dr. Hyde's, in the Religion of the Ancient Perfians, ftands defervedly higheft in repute, and is equally fcarce, as it is authentic, I have been obliged to that author for two of thofe plates; the firft immediately illuftrative of the Sabian fuperftition, copied from the tombs of the ancient fovereigns of Perfia, at ISTAKER, the ancient Perfepolis; the fecond exhibiting a fpacious FIRE-TEMPLE, with five lofty cupolas crowning the fummit of the dome, and with cavities pierced in their fides, to ferve as vents for thofe columns of fmoke, that for ever afcended from the grand altar, erected within. The former is exceedingly curious, and has been borrowed by Mr.

Mr. Bryant, as well as myſelf, in proof of obſervations which, in many points, muſt be unavoidably ſimilar in all inveſtigations of Aſiatic mythology. The comparative parallel, however, of the ſeveral ſyſtems of theology adopted in the neighbouring nations of Aſia, with thoſe of India, illuſtrated by engravings, has not been before attempted, in ſo extenſive a degree, at leaſt, in this country, as in the work now ſubmitted, with becoming diffidence, to a candid public.

This curious engraving repreſents, as explained on the plate itſelf, a Perſian monarch in a poſture of adoration, before the great objects of ancient Iranian devotion. The image of the aſcending ſoul of the monarch, exhibited on the rock above, is a ſtriking proof of the belief of the ancient Perſians in the immortality of the ſoul, and it appears as if mounting up to that hallowed orb, in which, according to Dr. Hyde, in the ſame book, the Perſians ſuppoſed the throne of the Deity to be fixed. Even if Sir William Jones, in his moſt elaborate reſearches into oriental antiquity, had not diſcovered to us that intereſting and important fact, that a dynaſty of Hindoo princes, denominated MAHABADIAN, a title of Sanſ-

creet origin, ſate upon the throne of Iran, or Perſia, before the acceſſion of Cayumaras, whom the TARIK MIRKHOND, and, after that chronicle Sir William himſelf, in his ſhort hiſtory of Perſia, formerly aſſerted to have been the *firſt* regular monarch of that empire; had not the ſame indefatigable explorer of Aſia, told to aſtoniſhed Europe, that of the ancient and venerable language of Perſia, called the ZEND, "ſix or ſeven words in ten were pure Sanſcreet," the ſimilarity of their devotion, in this reſpect, evidenced in the daily and ſcrupulous celebration, by the Hindoos, of the HOWM, or burnt ſacrifice; in the famous ſects of SAURA's and SAGNICA's; and in the numerous AGNIHOTRAS, to this day kept blazing in Hindoſtan, but more eſpecially at the celebrated city of Benares; more than ſufficiently decides, that a moſt familiar connection, in the earlieſt periods, has ſubſiſted between the two nations.

If, in conſequence of this religious veneration of the Hindoos for the Sun, and for Fire, objects which were ſo early and ſo univerſally deified through Aſia; if, on the ſurvey of thoſe innumerable images, human, beſtial, and compounded of both natures,

tures, which are ſculptured in every ſacred cavern, and painted in every pagoda, of Hindoſtan; I have, more than once, in the courſe of the theological diſſertation, branded her ſuperſtitious ſons with the name of IDOLATERS, let not my meaning be miſtaken, nor my words miſrepreſented. While I again aſſert that the *unity of God*, is the principle which forms the baſis of the pure, primæval, ſublime theology of BRAHMA, as promulged by the great VYASA, the Plato of India; while I allow that the ſolar fire is a noble ſymbol of that divine, all-vivifying, all-pervading energy that ſupports and animates creation, I may, ſurely, be permitted to aſſert that of India, which is ſo true of all other countries—that, in every age, there have not been wanting prieſts, ſufficiently artful and baſe, for venal purpoſes, to veil the awful truth from the eye of the multitude—I may, ſurely, be allowed to inſiſt upon what the theological hiſtory of every nation fatally juſtifies, that the deity is too frequently forgotten in the contemplation of that very ſymbol, which was, originally, intended to impreſs upon the devout ſoul, the more immediate ſenſe of his preſence; and that the image itſelf, has often received the homage

due

due to the divinity reprefented. By the word *idolater*, thus ufed, I would be underftood to mean, the offence in its mildeft fignification, for he who worfhips God, BEFORE AN IDOL, IS AN IDOLATER. When the Jews, in the defert, exalted on high the *Apis* of Egypt, they did not fuppofe that ftatue to be God himfelf, but to be animated by the foul of the deity, and, through it, they addreffed their prayers to HIM, who being a fpirit, muft neceffarily be degraded by all fymbolical reprefentations, whatfoever, whether *in the heaven above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth.* In this fenfe, then, the inferior tribes of Indians are idolaters; they regard, with idolatrous reverence, the Sun and Fire; they reprefent, under a thoufand images, the attributes of God, and they bow down before them. It is my anxious wifh to foften down the phrafe, in fubmiffion to Mr. Haftings, who, near the period of the clofe of this volume, indulged me with a conference, of which, I have only to lament that it did not take place fooner; a conference, during which, while my honeft ambition was animated by the approbation of fo able a judge of Hindoo hiftory and literature, my judgment was improved, and the

bounds

bounds of my knowledge of the Indian mythology and ſciences enlarged. From that gentleman's obliging and *ready* communication, I learned to entertain more juſt conceptions of the great triad of deity, Brahma, Veeſhnu and Seeva, and the ten Avatars, than any books could impart to me; and by him I was gratified with the ſight of an expreſſive and beautiful print, from which I hope, hereafter, to obtain his permiſſion to have an engraving taken, of a female Indian devotee *proſtrate before the venerated flame.* Recollecting, at the moment, a curious plate which I had ſeen in Tavernier, of YOGEE penitents under the great Banian tree, of which, ſome *extended on the back,* were, apparently, adoring the Sun, I could not avoid repeating a paſſage from the Heetopades, cited in page 204 of this volume, and ſo highly elucidatory of the ſubject before us. "The SUN ſhould be *worſhipped* on the back; the GOD OF FIRE, upon the belly."

The third plate, alluſive to the Solar Worſhip, is that very ſtriking repreſentation of A SACRIFICE TO THE SUN, ſculptured on a rock in the Thebais, which ſo eminently both corroborates and illuſtrates what I have advanced, concerning the probable ſpecies

of

of worſhip, anciently celebrated in the ſacred caverns of Elephanta and Salſette.—Concerning that valuable fragment of antiquity, ſo much has been already ſaid, in the text, and ſo accurate a deſcription of it given, from M. Lucas, and Mountfaucon, as well as from Savary, ocular witneſſes of its exiſtence, as to render any additional remarks upon it, in this place, impertinent and unneceſſary.

In preſenting my readers with an engraving of the MATSE AVATAR, or firſt incornation of Veeſhnu, in a form compoſed of man and fiſh, I perform an act of voluntary ſupererogation, ſince it is not immediately connected with the ſubject of this volume, and more properly belongs to the ſecond ſection of this work, which includes the ancient Sanſcreet Hiſtory, and to which ſection, therefore, in conformity to the opinion of Mr. Paterſon, I refer thoſe Avatars.—I have, however, in various places of this volume, ſo poſitively aſſerted the atteſtation given in ancient Sanſcreet treatiſes, to the Moſaic doctrine of a general deluge, that it is not wholly irrelevant to my ſubject, nor will, I truſt, be unacceptable to that portion of my ſubſcribers, poſſibly not a few, on whoſe

whose account I insert it; those who discouraged or disgusted with the increasing bulk and expence of this work, may withdraw their names from the future support of it. As it must, necessarily, appear again in its proper place, among the engravings of the other avatars, they will be candid enough to consider this spontaneous subjection of myself to unnecessary expence, at once as a mark of my grateful respect for their past patronage, and as a proof that I am not exciting expectations which I want integrity to fulfil, or ability to gratify. As the engraving itself is accompanied in the pages immediately preceding its insertion, with an account of the mythologic figures pourtrayed upon it, and as the whole must be largely commented upon, hereafter, it would be trespassing on the time of my readers, at present, to say more on the subject. Those of them, who, during the perusal of this volume, may keep their eye directed toward the parent country of mankind, will not fail, in the Matse-Avatar, to recognise the OANNES, or Fish-God, of the Babylonians, and the DAGON of the Phœnicians; for of this very form, *half man, half fish*, are both these deities described, the for-

mer in Berofus*, the latter in Selden†. Indeed the very etymology of the term Dagon, more generally received among the commentators, forcibly corroborates this hypothefis, which deduces the whole from patriarchal traditions, in future ages mutilated; for according to Bochart, it is derived from the Hebrew DAG, a word fignifying FISH.

After the extenfive range taken by me on the fubject of ancient caverns, and cavern-worfhip, in Afia, efpecially of thofe near Bombay, it would have been an unpardonable omiffion, not to have attempted to oblige the European reader with one glance, however tranfient and defective, of that of Elephanta, the glory of India, and the wonder of Afia. The PERSPECTIVE VIEW of Elephanta, here prefented to him, though copied after the beft fketch of it extant, is, indeed, of that imperfect kind, but it will ferve to exhibit more clearly than any verbal defcription could avail, the form and arrangement of the fingular columns which adorn that auguft fubterranean temple, the workmanfhip and magnitude of the grand mythologic buft,

* Berofus, apud Eufebii Chronicon, p. 5.

† Selden, De Diis Syriis, Syntagma, Cap. 3.

and

and ſtatues of other Indian Gods, that is, deified Rajahs; and the general plan, upon which that ſacred and gloomy receſs has been excavated, in the remoteſt periods of antiquity. In imagination, he will, naturally, be led to wander through thoſe dark winding avenues, and as he ranges the dreary Verandas, he will, for a moment, be plunged in all the horrors of the terrified aſpirant, deſcribed from Apuleius and Dion Chryſoſtome, in pages 342 and 343, of this volume.—— There, doubtleſs, the whole ſtupendous drama of the Indian theology was anciently performed and the grand machinery diſplayed, while kings were the actors, and holy Brahmins the admiring ſpectators! There, doubtleſs, the great God, and prophet RAM, has often fought over again his wonderful battles with the giant Ravan; and Creeſhna has often ſported, as of old, upon the hallowed plains of Mathura. The ancient Sanſcreet hiſtory of India, is pourtrayed upon thoſe walls. On a very recent and more accurate contemplation of its ſculptures, finely engraved, a LIGHT, like that which broke in upon the initiated of old, has poured upon me, from amidſt the deep obſcurity of that ſolemn retreat; and the avatars, de-

 ſcending

ſcending from their ſtations, ſeem to ſweep before me, in all the majeſty of their ancient grandeur. That portentous and terrific figure deſcribed in page 253, which has perplexed all the beholders, which has been miſtaken for the judgment of Solomon, and was, by myſelf, ſo naturally and, I truſt, venially repreſented as the deſtroying Power of India, I am now convinced is no other than the tyrant CANSA, ſovereign of Mathura in the eighth avatar, thirſting for the blood of the infant Creeſhna, who, it was predicted, (a prediction afterward verified) would dethrone and deſtroy him: in conſequence of which, he ordered all the male children born at that period, to be deſtroyed. He graſps the infant by the thigh, becauſe the enraged Canſa, as ſoon as he was born, ruſhing to the apartment, where his ſuppoſed deſtroyer was, according to my author, Sonnerat, ſeized the terrified babe by the legs, and whirling it in that poſture, through the air, would have daſhed out its brains againſt a ſtone, in the face of its ſuppoſed mother; but that child was a female ſubſtitute, born at the ſame hour with Creeſhna, and exchanged by the command of the divine child himſelf, who with his

very

very birth, enjoyed the miraculous faculty of ſpeech. By the ſame immortal infant, the female changeling was preſerved unhurt, for, though at a diſtance, the power of Creeſhna operated ſo far, as to enable her to burſt from the graſp of the overthrown tyrant, and tower above him, in the air, a majeſtic goddeſs, *with eight arms;* a circumſtance which ought not to excite the ridicule of the reader, ſince, as I have elſewhere remarked, the numerous heads and arms that decorate the ſtatues of India, are only ſymbols by which a rude nation intended to expreſs their ideas of ſuperior wiſdom and pre-eminent fortitude.

The event of Creeſhna's birth, and the attempt to deſtroy him, took place by night, and, therefore, the ſhadowy mantle of darkneſs, upon which mutilated figures of infants are engraved,—darkneſs at once congenial with his crime, and the ſeaſon of its perpetration, involves the tyrant's buſt; the ſtring of death-heads marks the multitude of infants ſlain by his ſavage mandate, and every object in the ſculpture illuſtrates the events of that avatar. It is engraving for me, with all the accuracy of delineation and ſpirit that diſtinguiſhes the original, and will appear

among

among the avatars. In this particular figure there is great diſplay of genius, and great energy of expreſſion; a tolerable engraver, therefore, can ſcarcely fail of executing, from ſuch materials, a ſatisfactory print. I muſt, however, forewarn the reader that if in the plates preſented to him, in a work of this kind, which are, neceſſarily, taken from voyages, travels, and volumes ancient themſelves, and alluſive to remote antiquities, he expects to find any very ſuperlative excellence, either in the deſign or the execution, it is ſcarcely poſſible, but he muſt be diſappointed. There are few travellers who enjoy the advantage of Sonnerat and Niebuhr, in carrying with them, at the expence of royal munificence, able draughtſmen; fewer ſtill, who like Norden and Le Bruyn, are themſelves accompliſhed artiſts.——Happy would it be for ſcience were the caſe otherwiſe! In general, the precious fragments of antiquity are copied on the ſpot, from rude ſculptures on rock, or half defaced paintings in Eaſtern temples, by travellers little acquainted either with the ſculptor's, or the painter's art. In moſt inſtances, too, it is impoſſible for the artiſt to deviate from the exemplar before him, however defective in

propriety

propriety, and however contrary to the established rules of his profession. So correct a FAC-SIMILE as may convey a just conception of the object intended to be represented, is in general the utmost that the reader can reasonably expect. These reflections are indeed less immediately applicable to the figures in Elephanta, than most others in antiquity; since they are, in general, excellently designed; and, indeed, many of those figures are sculptured with such spirit and expression, as must astonish every spectator who considers the remote period of their formation; and if the statues copied from Egyptian caverns, in Mr. Bruce's travels, be genuine antiquities, we shall not long hesitate in pronouncing both to be the fabrication of the same indefatigable race. What wonderous race that was, and from what primæval country they diffused themselves over all Asia, and the greatest part of Africa, the reader may form some conjecture, by perusing the latter part of the extended prospectus, which precedes the Theological Dissertation. Mr. Bryant's hypothesis accounting for the great similarity which prevails in the architecture, supernal and subterraneous, of the two countries; a species of architecture

which

which awes us alike with its maſſy ſolidity, and its ſtupendous elevation; is the only one upon which the difficulty can be explained. A view of the VESTIBULE of the grand temple of Dandera, the ancient Tentyra, (by miſtake, printed Tentara, in the engraving) which is deſcribed by Pococke, and others, is given on the ſame plate with the perſpective view of the Elephanta Cavern, as well, becauſe from being half buried in the ſands, it may, in ſome degree, be ſtiled *ſubterraneous*, as becauſe it diſplays the hieroglyphics and mythologic ſculptures, with which the columns and walls of the Egyptian temples were covered. The former are, indeed, too minute to be accurately diſtinguiſhed; but of the order, and the number of them, from that plate, a correct idea may be formed. What muſt the Temple itſelf have been, of which ſo magnificent an edifice was only the VESTIBULE?

Connected with the caverns of India, are two other ſubjects, concerning which I requeſt the reader's permiſſion ſomewhat more explicitly to deliver my ſentiments. The firſt regards that particular ſpecies of worſhip ſo predominant throughout Hindoſtan, I mean that of the LINGAM, or PHALLUS, of which the

diſguſting

evidenced in the day of Woden, that is, Woden's day, or, as we are accustomed corruptly to write and pronounce the word, WEDNESDAY. Engaged necessarily, therefore, in these more extended enquiries; and involved, consequently, in great additional expences, I find myself reluctantly compelled to fix the price of subscription to the History of Hindostan, at TWO guineas, instead of ONE. I make this alteration with the full concurrence of the major part of my subscribers: I trust it will meet the approbation of the remainder; and that those may not be injured, whose benevolence to the author, and candid opinion of his undertaking, induced them to subscribe for *two* copies of this work, I submit it to them that they take no more than *one* copy.

I have observed before, that, in the course of the wide range, which I have been compelled to take in the field of Asiatic mythology, that certain topics have arisen for discussion, equally delicate and perplexing. Among them, in particular, a species of TRINITY forms a constant and prominent feature in nearly all the systems of Oriental theology, a doctrine which, though exceedingly curious, and deeply connected with the old philosophy

of the East, as it concerns the pagan world, having been never yet fully investigated, nor accurate engravings of the Gentile Trinities, in regular series, ever yet presented to the public, I have ventured, with a trembling step, upon that hazardous task. It was not from *choice*, but from *necessity*, that I have entered thus largely upon a subject, which from the incessant operations of the great Indian Triad of Deity, Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva, in the mythology of Hindostan, was intimately blended with others, treated of in these introductory volumes. This extensive and interesting subject engrosses a considerable portion of the SECOND PART of this volume, and my anxiety to prepare the public mind to receive, with indulgence, my efforts to elucidate so mysterious a point of theology, induces me, in this place, in the words of an ADVERTISEMENT prefixed to that second part, to remind the candid reader " that visible traces of this doctrine are discovered not only in the THREE PRINCIPLES of the Chaldaic Theology; in the TRIPLASIOS MITHRA of Persia; in the TRIAD, BRAHMA, VEESHNU, and SEEVA, of India, where it was evidently promulged in the GEETA, fifteen hundred years before the birth of Plato; but in the NUMEN TRIPLEX of Japan

Japan; in the inscription upon the famous medal found in the deserts of Siberia, "to the Tri-une God," to be seen at this day, in the valuable cabinet of the Empress, at Petersburg; in the Tanga-Tanga, or three-in-one, of the South Americans; and finally, without mentioning the vestiges of it in Greece, in the symbol of the Wing, the Globe, and the Serpent, conspicuous on most of the ancient temples of Upper Egypt. Thus universally, and in such remote periods, prevalent in Asia, and the neighbouring regions, it became absolutely necessary fully to enquire whether so fundamental an article of the Christian Faith, *were*, or *were not*, known to the Ancient Jews. The Author trusts that the fact of its having been known, tho' obscurely, in Palestine, is amply proved in the following pages. He likewise flatters himself that the production of all the evidence, for its having been actually believed by the ancient Jews, will be a circumstance as highly gratifying to the assenting Christian; as the exhibition of the various symbols, by which the Trinity was shadowed out among the Pagan nations, will be to the Virtuoso, and the Antiquary."

To those who may not be inclined to credit the assertion, "that this doctrine was

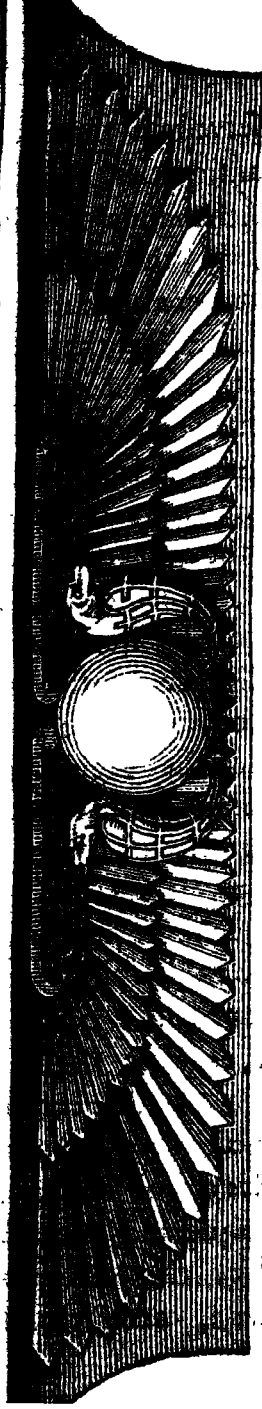
obscurely known in Palestine," I beg leave, for the present, to propose the following symbol, by which the ancient Jews were accustomed to designate the ineffable name, JEHOVAH, in manuscripts of the most venerable antiquity, for their serious reflection.

The above symbol is a characteristical representation of A TRINITY IN UNITY; the former represented by three JODS, denoting the three hypostases, or persons in the divine essence, the JOD being the known character of that Jehovah, of whose name, in Hebrew, it constitutes the first sacred letter; the latter shadowed out by the circle that surrounds them, as well as by the point Kametz, subjoined to the three Jods, which denotes the ESSENTIAL UNITY common to the three hypostases. The symbol itself is to be found in the writings of the younger Buxtorf, one of the profoundest critics in Hebrew literature, that ever flourished out of the pale of the Jewish church, whose judgment on this point will, hereafter, be inserted at length; and it is likewise

likewiſe preſerved in that curious repoſitory of oriental antiquities, the OEdipus Ægyptiacus of Athanaſius Kircher. The firſt aſſerts, that, in the ancient Chaldee paraphraſes, kept ſacred from the vulgar, among the Jewiſh doctors, the name Jehovah is thus deſignated; and the ſecond declares, that he himſelf has ſeen that name thus invariably characterized, in all the ancient Hebrew manuſcripts of the Bible, in the Vatican. I thought this information ſo important, that, at my deſire, a learned friend has written to the librarian, at Rome, for correct intelligence relative to the truth of this declaration, and the age of the manuſcripts in which the deſignation appears. The reſult of this inquiry ſhall form an appendix to the ſecond part of this volume.

There is likewiſe another ſymbol, of a nature too curious to be here omitted, by which this doctrine of the Trinity was ſhadowed out among the ancient Egyptians, and which, whoever will examine the plates of Norden and Pococke, will find conſpicuouſly ſculptured on almoſt all the portals of the more ancient temples of the Thebais. It is a figure highly pictureſque and beautiful, compounded of a GLOBE, the juſt emblem of OMNIPOTENT POWER, and, therefore, ſtrikingly

deſcriptive

defcriptive of the great FATHER and SOVEREIGN of the univerfe; of a SERPENT, iffuing from it; that ferpent, which, being the known emblem of ETERNITY and WISDOM in all the fyftems of Afiatic Mythology, moft expreffively typifies the ETERNAL WISDOM, who emaned from the fountain of the paternal godhead; and of a WING, *proceeding* likewife from the central orb, by which hieroglyphic, the Egyptians,

on all their monuments, defignated AIR, or SPIRIT, in general; but, more particularly, as I hope, hereafter, indifputably to evince, that immortal CNEPH, or primordial SPIRIT, whofe EXPANDED and PROLIFIC wings, brooding over the vaft abyfs, rendered fertile the inert mafs, while its vivifying breath infufed the vital principle into the various claffes of animated nature.

This ſubject has been the occaſion of my entering more at large than I had intended, or indeed would otherwiſe have been neceſſary, into the ancient rabbinical theology of the Hebrew doctors, as delivered down to their poſterity in the TARGUMS, the TALMUDS, and other compoſitions of the moſt celebrated cabaliſts of the ancient ſynagogue; a line of ſpeculative divinity which, I confeſs, was till lately totally unknown to me, and the inveſtigation of which required no ſmall portion of time and induſtry. The comprehenſive view which I have taken of the ſame ſubject, required a more minute and critical examination of the authenticity and antiquity of thoſe Chaldaic oracles which are attributed to Zoroaſter, than I could find in any previous author, they having been generally given up by all thoſe who have hitherto treated of them, either as rank forgeries, or as involved in inextricate obſcurity. But on a more accurate inquiry into the meaning of thoſe abſtruſe oracles, it will appear that they only contain doctrines ſimilar to thoſe that prevailed in the more ancient and obſolete ſyſtems of theology, once prevalent in Aſia; and to many, eſpecially, that about the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, were predominant in Perſia and India.

Many

Many remarkable traces, indeed, of the ſuperſtition of the old Magi, diſcovered in thoſe oracles, ſtill remain among the Indian Brahmins, particularly thoſe that regard their myſtic Theurgy, their magical incantations, their general belief in the agency of good and evil dæmons, worſhip of fire, fire-ordeals, and other ſacredly obſcure ceremonies, upon which I have grounded a defence of the genuineneſs of thoſe oracles. The perpetual recurrence of a SACRED TRIAD OF DEITY, in Aſiatic mythology, and it is of little conſequence whether that triad conſiſted of PERSONS, QUALITIES, or ATTRIBUTES DEIFIED; ſince they are all corruptions of one grand primæval doctrine,) gradually led me on to the examination of the fragments of ancient theology, aſcribed, to the Ægyptian HERMES; of the hymns attributed to ORPHEUS; and of what occurs more peculiarly remarkable, relative to a trinity of divine hypoſtaſes, in the writings of Numenius, Parmenides, and Plato.

From various circumſtances above enumerated, in the preceding pages, and the ſpecimen now before him, the reader may poſſibly be enabled to form ſome faint idea of the undertaking for which the exertion of his candour is reſpectfully claimed and the extenſion of his patronage ardently ſolicited.

For my own part, I have had principally to contend with, and to overcome, the growing magnitude of my ſubject. Having originally, for the ſake of œconomy, but greatly, as I find, to my own diſadvantage, as an author, and materially, as I fear to the injury of the engravings, choſen an octavo rather than a quarto page for the uſhering into the world of this work, I have daily occaſion to *feel* and to *lament*, that my efforts to elucidate the Indian Hiſtory are cramped, and that the ſphere in which I can only move with prudence and ſafety is far too circumſcribed for an undertaking of ſuch extent.

Overwhelmed with the immenſity, and variety of the ſubjects, neceſſarily comprehended in it, I ſcarcely know how to break down into a compaſs ſufficiently contracted, and into volumes that may not give birth to alarm or diſguſt, the enormous aggregate of materials already prepared; and which, if committed to preſs without ſevere retrenchment, would already fill ten volumes of the ſize of that now ſubmitted to the Public. For, in truth, at a period long antecedent to the year 1790, and previous to any idea of writing Diſſertations, or entering into the inveſtigation of remote Sanſcreet Annals, that

extenſive portion of this work, which may be called the regular claſſical Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, and which, commencing with the Perſian and Grecian invaſions, deſcends in regular ſucceſſion down to the extinction of the Weſtern empire, was already completed, though not committed to the preſs.

Of the numerous and cruel incurſions made by Mahommedan princes into the Upper India, from the Caliph Valid, in the ſeventh century, traced regularly down through the ſeveral ſeries of dynaſties of the Sultans of GAZNA, GAUR, and CHARASM, dynaſties ſcarcely heard of in Europe, but highly renowned through all Aſia, and deeply connected with Indian Hiſtory; of the daring exploits, in the ſame country, of the immortal Gengis, the ſubverter of the Charaſmian dynaſty; and of the fierce and ſanguinary, but politic Timur, as the hiſtory of theſe dynaſties is detailed by Mirkhond, Abulfaragius, Abulfeda, Al Makin, and Abulghazi, the Tartar hiſtorian, *compared throughout with Feriſhta's native hiſtory of the country*, and as the feats of thoſe two great Eaſtern warriors, unrivalled in the number of their armies, or the arduouſneſs of their enterprizes, even by the Alexanders and Cæſars of

of claſſical antiquity, are given in the authentic volumes of Arabſhah, Sheriffedin, and the excellent edition of TIMUR'S INSTITUTES recently publiſhed at Oxford, in Arabic and Engliſh, by Doctor White and Major Davy; of theſe, together with the intereſting events that occurred during the reign of Baber, who may properly be called the FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL MONARCHY IN INDIA, and of his father, Ulug Beg, the great aſtronomer, who equally awed the Deſpots of Aſia in the field by his arms, and delighted her Literati in the ſtudy by his writings; of Ulug Beg, a name to be for ever holden ſacred, while impartial juſtice continues to be the ornament of kings, and ſound philoſophy remains the glory of learned univerſities *, and while both, terminating in an undeſerved and ignominious end, can awake in mankind the ſigh of commiſeration—of Akber, the annals of whoſe extended reign are the annals of glory itſelf; of the magnificent Jehaun; and the intrepid Aurungzeb; of theſe reſpective characters, illuſtrious in arts and triumphant in arms, circumſtantial and elaborate hiſtories have for ſome time paſt been compoſed by me,

 with

* Among other noble acts, ULUG BEG founded an extenſive College, and a noble Obſervatory, at Samarcand.

with which, and a few elucidatory engravings, the Public ſhall be gratified the moment that its decided approbation ſhall appear to ſanction the enormous expence of printing them. Happy ſhall I be to return from the dreary and unfruitful wilds of obſcure mythology into the path of regular and connected Hiſtory; and greatly indeed ſhall I think myſelf indebted to the candour of the Public, if the inaccuracies and defects of this volume may be overlooked in the conſideration that objects more important have engaged my attention than thoſe that relate to preciſion of expreſſion, and the minutiæ of errors, for the moſt part, typographical.

While I again lament that the engravings of this volume, which are for the moſt part on quarto plates, muſt be injured by being folded within the contracted compaſs of an octavo page, I think it neceſſary to acquaint the Patrons of this Undertaking, that a much larger number than is uſual of the *firſt impreſſions* of thoſe plates has been printed off with a view, at ſome period or another, to gratify the wiſhes of thoſe zealous friends, who are anxious to ſee a quarto edition of a work which, they are pleaſed to aſſert, merited a more expanded and reſpectable page.---

For

For what concerns myself, I confess that I want neither honest ambition, nor proper materials to enlarge this undertaking to any extent that may be necessary to the *complete* elucidation of the interesting objects concerning which it treats. Printing, however, at my own peril and expence, I freely acknowledge, that, with the comparatively small support which I have hitherto experienced, I have felt the publication of it upon an octavo page sufficiently oppressive, without at present engaging in a more costly edition. If, however, a society of Gentlemen, or even of liberal Booksellers, should think the plan of a larger edition warrantable, no interested motives on my part shall obstruct the accomplishment of their wishes; but, on the contrary, every exertion in my power shall be afforded to render such a work more worthy the public eye, than it can be in its present garb; and some very curious additional sketches, taken as well from the book of nature as from volumes of great cost and rarity, elucidatory of Indian antiquities, and originally selected by me, for the illustration of these pages, but since laid by, as too large in the design for insertion in an octavo volume, and too expensive in

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the execution for a work of this price, ſhall be chearfully reſigned for the decoration of it. I truſt, that the ſordid principles that ſometimes diſgrace authorſhip are unknown to my mind. I write from nobler motives than the deſire of baſe emolument; but my ſituation will not allow me to be inſenſible to the dictates of prudence, and the admonitions of friendly anxiety for my intereſt.

Of this particular book, (which, though entitled PART THE FIRST OF VOLUME THE FIRST, muſt itſelf be conſidered as a volume, and, in fact, there are few octavos volumes of ſimilar magnitude) the price to ſubſcribers muſt be half-a-guinea; to non-ſubſcribers twelve ſhillings: of the ſecond, the engravings being leſs numerous, though not leſs curious, the price to ſubſcribers will be eight ſhillings—to non-ſubſcribers nine ſhillings; that of the others will be proportioned according to the magnitude of the volumes, and the number of plates: but to the ſubſcribers the total amount of the work ſhall not exceed two guineas.

Leſt, after all, the reader ſhould think that I am induced by mercenary motives to make this increaſe in the price of my book, it becomes neceſſary that I ſhould inform him of

the *undisguised* and, to myself, *alarming* truth, that, from not being the most rigid œconomist in the world, or the most accurate of calculators, I had myself formed but very inadequate conceptions concerning the total expenses that would be incurred by such a work; that when he shall pay the amount of this book, as fixed above, he will scarcely lay down the value of the maps and engravings that illustrate it, and that, from the sale of single volumes only, unless the work collectively should meet with the good fortune to have an extensive sale, no possible compensation will arise to the author for many hours of literary toil consumed by the midnight lamp; for very considerable Property expended upon the completion of it; and Health *deeply*, if not *irretrievably*, injured.

During the still farther, but unavoidable, delay in publication, caused by the maps and engravings above-enumerated, a few highly respectable subscribers have been added to the List, previously given; and I am proud to subjoin to that list, names so exalted by noble birth, and private virtue, as His Grace the DUKE of MONTROSE, and the Right Hon. the EARL of WINCHELSEA; SIR JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. President of the Royal Society, who,

amidſt his other numerous and more-important engagements, has condeſcended to notice this infant undertaking; ROBERT DALLAS, Eſq. who, together with his colleague in a cauſe of great celebrity, THOMAS PLUMER, Eſq. has ſhewn the moſt decided and liberal patronage of the Hiſtory of a Nation with whoſe policy and manners the records of Weſtminſter-Hall will bear eternal teſtimony to their intimate and extenſive acquaintance—SAMUEL BEACHCROFT, and WILLIAM TOD, Eſquires, who, deſervedly eminent as they are in the mercantile world, have evinced in this inſtance no leſs zeal to promote the advancement of Britiſh Literature, than, on other occaſions, to forward the intereſts of Britiſh Commerce. To theſe I gratefully annex the names of JOHN PENN, Eſq. MATTHEWS BEACHCROFT, Eſq. the Rev. PHILIP FISHER, A. M.; WILLIAM COWLING, Eſq. of Chambers, Eſſex; JOHN GROVE, Eſq. Captain CHARLES HUGHES, of the Royal Navy, and of Friday-hill Houſe, in Eſſex; the Rev. THOMAS CRAWLEY, A. M. Mr. THOMAS CALDWALD, Jun. JOHN MIDDLEDITCH, Eſq. and FRANCIS BURROWS, Eſq.

Great Ruſſell-Street, December 30th, 1792.

DISSERTATION I.

THE

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

OF

HINDOSTAN.

CHAP. I.

Of the ancient geographical Divisions of INDIA, *according to the Classical Writers of* GREECE *and* ROME.

THE science of GEOMETRY is thought to have been the invention of the ancient Egyptians; and, the occasion of it, the annual inundations of the Nile. A similar argument may be urged with far greater plausibility, in favour of its having originated in INDIA, since many parts of that extensive region are annually overflowed, not only by the Ganges, but by many other considerable rivers. It was a custom of very ancient date, and of almost universal prevalence, in Asia, for great monarchs, and commanders of armies, to carry in their train certain persons whose office it was to measure the roads, and describe the provinces through which they passed. These Itineraries proved afterwards of the utmost importance to the

Geographer, and the Hiſtorian; and hence Abul Fazel, the ſecretary of Sultan Akber, was enabled to give ſo accurate an account as he has afforded us of the geography of the Indian Subahs, in the celebrated book which bears the name of that emperor. The old Indians themſelves ſeem to have been more than uſually attentive to geographical accuracy; for, according to Strabo, they erected columns, inſcribed with directions for travellers, and marked with the diſtances of the ſeveral cities one from the other *. But however well the Indians might have been acquainted with the geography of their own country, it will preſently appear that they were miſerably deficient in the knowledge of that of the other parts of the terreſtial globe, as indeed will be ſufficiently evident to the reader, from a ſlight inſpection of the curious Hindoo map of the world, preſented to him in the courſe of this geographical diſſertation. I ſhall devote the preſent chapter to the conſideration of the Indian Geography, according to the Greek and Roman writers. In the ſecond chapter I ſhall endeavour to relieve the neceſſary dryneſs, which always

* Strabonis Geographia, lib. 15. p. 661.

attends

attends geographical details, by displaying from authentic writers, the aſtoniſhing extent, and unequalled magnificence, of the ſucceſſive capitals of India, under the Hindoo, Perſian and Tartar Princes; and, in the third, from Sir W. Jones's elegant little treatiſe, prefixed to his Deſcription of Aſia, and from the Ayeen Akbery, I ſhall exhibit the ſentiments, on this ſubject, of the Perſian, Arabian, and Indian geographers. My guide, throughout the whole ſurvey, will be the works of thoſe celebrated modern geographers, Mr. D'Anville, and Major Rennel.

INDIA was a term applied with the greateſt latitude by the ancient writers of Greece and Rome, whoſe ideas of the geographical diviſions of this portion of the globe, were exceedingly confuſed and inaccurate. Not only a conſiderable part of Scythia, by the denomination of Indo-Scythia, was comprehended under that title, but the appellation was extended to countries ſtill more remote and unconnected; even to Ethiopia Propria, and the diſtant nations of the torrid zone. This circumſtance will appear leſs ſurpriſing, when it is conſidered that, in the early ages, the Red Sea itſelf was frequently included under the general title of the Indian Sea, to which it is

ſo

so near a neighbour and of which Pliny[a] affirms it, as well as the Persian Gulph, to be a branch[b]; that all those countries, extending on each side of the Red Sea, were called indifferently India or Ethiopia; that even at this day the Asiatics in general understand the term INDIA with considerable license of meaning; and that the Persians in particular give the names of Siah Hindou to an Abassine, or modern Ethiopian.

In fact, so little did the ancients know of their limits and divisions, that both India and Ethiopia were used as general terms, to signify any remote uncivilized country: and in this sense Virgil is to be understood in the sixth Æneid[c], where Æneas in the shades is informed of the future glory of Augustus, and that

> ———Super et Garamantes et Indos
> Proferet imperium——

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[a] Plinii. Nat. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 24.

[b] On the other hand, both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus give the name of Red Sea to the Oceanus Indicus. See Herodotus. lib. ii. p. 102. and Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 41.

Curtius remarks, that the river Ganges emptied itself into the *Red Sea*, but is strangely mistaken when, in the next sentence, he makes the Acesines discharge its waters into the Ganges. The following passage is illustrative of what has been said above: "Mare certe, *quo India abluitur*, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythra rege inditum est nomen: propter quod ignari, *rubere aquas*, credunt." Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9.

[c] Æneid. vi. l. 794.

And

And again, in the eighth Eclogue[d]:

Iſmarus aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes[e].

Where Servius his commentator explains the word "extremi," by adding, "quaſi a conſortio communitatis remoti." Horace too, under the impreſſion of the ſame ſentiments, calls the Indians "extremos," and "haud ante domabiles." Many other paſſages might be adduced, if neceſſary, from various authors, to prove what obſcure and erroneous notions prevailed among the ancients concerning India and its inhabitants.

It was not before the expedition of Alexander, deſcribed with ſuch accuracy by Arrian, and with ſuch elegance by the more ornamental pen of Quintus Curtius, that this remote region became more particularly known to the Greeks. Of how little genuine information upon this point, even they were previouſly in poſſeſſion, is evident from the groſs miſtake into which that prince, who was by no means an inattentive obſerver of nature, nor unaccompanied, we muſt ſuppoſe, by men of ſcience in his Indian incurſion, unaccountably fell in imagining, on his arrival at the Indus, that he

d Eclogue viii. l. 44.

e The Garamantes were a barbarous nation, ſituate on the confines of Ethiopia Propria.

had diſcovered the ſources of the Nile f. That mighty river, he ſuppoſed, after rolling through immenſe unexplored deſerts, poured, by ſome unknown tract, its rapid ſtream into Ethiopia, where it loſt the name of Indus, and aſſumed the appellation of the Egyptian river. He was confirmed in this ſtrange conjecture, by the appearance, ſays Arrian, of crocodiles in the ſtream of the Indus, and of beans growing on its banks, ſimilar to thoſe which grew on the ſhore of the Nile, as well as by the recollection that Homer had called the Nile Ægyptus on its entering Egypt; a circumſtance which ſeemed to prove that it acquired, in its progreſs, the name of the various countries through which it paſſed. Experience, diligently ſought, and finally obtained, after a long ſeries of peril and difficulty, taught the Macedonian invader, as far at leaſt as his army penetrated, a truer notion of the geography of India.

The natural and ardent avidity of mankind after whatever delights by its novelty, or aſtoniſhes by its ſingularity, induced, however, many of thoſe who ſought for glory in an Indian campaign, in ſome inſtances to liſten with too

f Προτερον μεν γε εν τῳ Ινδῳ ποταμῳ κροκοδειλους ιδων, μονῳ των αλλων ποταμων πλην Νειλου, προς δε ταις οχθαις του Ακεσινου κυαμους πεφυκοτας, οποιους ἡ γη εκφερει ἡ Αιγυπτια· και ακουσας οτι ὁ Ακεσινης εμβαλλει εις τον Ινδον ποταμον, εδοξεν εξευρηκεναι του Νειλου τας αρχας. Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 1.

ready

ready an ear to the exaggerated tales which national bigotry reported; while the desire of human distinction urged them to multiply those fictions, in order to excite more forcibly the attention, and secure more permanently the admiration, of their countrymen. Strabo, who was a writer equally learned and judicious, severely censures [g] both Megasthenes and Onesicritus, two officers of high repute for literature, and of exalted station in the army of Alexander, for the absurd and incredible stories they propagated concerning the Indian country and people. At the same time, he gives us himself, in the fifteenth book of his invaluable treatise of Ancient Geography, the most authentic and faithful accounts at that time known, of the divisions and subdivisions of India, interspersed with many sublime moral reflections and entertaining historical relations; which demonstrate him not only the man of taste and erudition, but the profound philosopher. Indeed, nobody could possibly write on that subject with a better grace, or more indubitable information, than himself, as he had added practice to theory, and had travelled over half the countries which his instructive volumes describe. After this particular mention of Strabo, it would be unjust not to take as particular notice of Ptolemy, the greatest

g Strabo, lib. ii. p. 65.

mathematician and astronomer of his age, whose geographical history and tables must ever continue to be of the most important use to those who tread that barren path of antiquity. Born in the neighbouring kingdom of Egypt, he had every opportunity of exploring, he is therefore entitled to every credit in elucidating, the subject of which we now treat; and accordingly both Ptolemy and Strabo are constantly consulted as the most certain guides in illustrating the geography of ancient countries.

The rich and extensive region of India, according to these[h] and other respectable geographers of antiquity, was divided by the river Ganges into two parts, which they denominated India intra Gangem, and India extra Gangem; a mode of division that still very generally prevails. Of India intra Gangem, the principal theatre of the events recorded in these pages, Nature herself seems to have fixed the eternal boundaries; for on the west it is terminated by the great and rapid river Indus[i]; on the north and north-west, by that stupendous chain of mountains to which the ancients gave the general name of Caucasus[k]; on the east, by the sacred

[h] Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. vii. Strabonis Geogr. lib. xv.

[i] That is, by its most westerly branch.

[k] The different regions of this vast chain were distinguished by the particular names of Paropamisus, Taurus, Emodus, and Imaus.

sacred waters of the Ganges; and on the south it is embraced by the Mare Erythræum, or Indian ocean. It must, however, be observed, that the accurate Ptolemy does not absolutely assert the Indus to be the boundary of India Propria on the west; for he assigns as its confines on that side, the territory of the Paropamisadæ (the Afghans of the present day); the province of Arachosia, the modern Zablestan; and that of Gedrosia, at present denominated Mocran. The reason and propriety of Ptolemy's fixing these provinces rather than the Indus as its western termination, will be hereafter more clearly evinced, by a quotation from an author in elegance and accuracy hardly inferior to himself, when we come to consider Hindostan according to the divisions of the Orientals themselves. These provinces, indeed, seem to be considered by Pliny [l] rather as a part of the Indian than the Persian empire; to which he adds that of Aria, whose capital is the modern Herat: for this, however, he is condemned by Cellarius, who observes [m], "Quod de quatuor

Imaus. Thus Pliny: "Junguntur inter se Imaus, Emodus, Paropamisus, Caucasus, a quibus tota decurrit India in planitiem immensam et Ægypto similem." Plinius, lib. vi, cap. 17.

[l] Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 20.

[m] Cellarii Geographia Antiqua, lib. iii. cap. 23.

præfecturis Plinius dicit, videtur nimis lata terminorum extensio."

Of the cities lying on the western confines of India Propria, the most eminent (for I shall confine myself, in this geographical sketch, to the consideration of those only which were distinguished by their opulence and power) was Taxila, situated on the eastern bank of the Indus, on the site, as it is supposed, where the castle and city of Attock now stands. This was the flourishing capital of Taxiles, an Indian prince, or rajah, who on the approach of Alexander, convinced, perhaps, that all opposition to so formidable a power would be in vain, went forth with considerable presents to appease and join the invader. Taxila is described by Strabo[a] as the metropolis of a kingdom situated between the Indus and Hydaspes, in extent as large as Egypt, well planted, and exceedingly fruitful. The city itself was not less distinguished by the elegance of its structure, than by the wisdom of those just political institutions by which it was governed. Taxiles, like Porus, seems to have been rather a name common to a race of kings, than the peculiar appellation of one sovereign. The reigning prince of that name was the determined enemy of Porus; and it was

[a] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 480.

chiefly

chiefly by means of the information he received from this traitor, that Alexander was enabled to profecute his hoftile defign upon that remote country.

As it will be of material importance towards rightly underftanding that portion of the Indian hiftory which records the circumftances of Alexander's celebrated invafion, to have a clear idea of its geography, we fhall in this place, affifted by the Memoir of Major Rennel on the fubject, endeavour to trace the progrefs of that conqueror through the region to which the natives themfelves have allotted the name of Panjab, or the country of five rivers, from its being interfected by the five eaftern branches of the Indus. By our conftantly giving, when we have any tolerable authority to guide us, the modern, together with the ancient appellation of any place, readers of every clafs will naturally be more interefted in the narrative; and the expedition of Alexander will in fome degree be cleared from that gloom of myftery and fable in which it hath long been involved.

From Taxila, which Mr. Rennel with great probability fuppofes to ftand on the fite of the prefent Attock, becaufe it appears to have been in all ages the pafs on the Indus leading from Cabul and Candahar into India, and becaufe (he adds,

adds, in the words of Frafer) "Attock is the only place where, from the ftream being lefs rapid, an army can conveniently pafs;"—from that celebrated capital, where he refrefhed himfelf and his army for fome days, the Macedonian conqueror advanced to the bank of the Hydafpes, the moft wefterly of the five rivers, called in modern language the Behat or Chelum, but in the Ayeen° Akbery diftinguifhed by a name fomewhat fimilar in found to its claffical appellation, the Bedufta. It is rather remarkable, that Ptolemy's mode of writing the word comes ftill nearer to that of the Ayeen Akbery; on which paffage Cellarius remarks, "Prave Bedafpen adpellavit Ptolemæus:" but with great deference to the opinion of the learned, from the high corroborating authority of the Ayeen Akbery, I contend that Ptolemy's may be the true reading. The Bidafpes is reprefented as a noble river, which taking its rife in the Indian Caucafus, mingles its waters with thofe of the Acefines, and at length, together with that river, rolls into the Indus at Multan. It feems to have been the boundary between the kingdom of Taxilus, and that moft formidable of Indian warriors the renowned Porus.

o Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 232.

Concerning Porus himself, and the extent of his dominions, many discordant and very unsatisfactory accounts have been given, both by ancient and modern writers. The subject will more properly come under our consideration hereafter; and therefore it will be sufficient in this place to insert a remark of Sir W. Jones[p], that his capital was most probably Lahor, or Lawhore, the present metropolis of Panjab, whose name is often applied to the province itself. Lahore, or Lehawer, as it is said in the Ayeen Akbery to have been called in ancient astronomical tables, was undoubtedly in ancient times a very considerable kingdom, and no other city in its neighbourhood seems of consequence enough to have been the capital of so celebrated a prince as Porus. With the greatest deference, however, to the high authority just mentioned, I must remark, that the kingdom of Porus is expressly affirmed by Strabo[q] to be the country "between the Hydaspes and the Acesines; extensive, opulent, and containing near three hundred towns." Concerning these, however, Cellarius remarks[r], that many of them might

p Short Description of Asia, prefixed to Nadir Shah.

q Μεταξυ δε του Υδασπου και του Ακεσινου, ητε του Πωρου εςι γη πολλη και αγαθη, σχεδον τι και περι τριακοσιων πολεων. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 663.

r Cellarii Geog. Ant. tom. secund. p. 529.

have

have been mere villages. Lahore is ſituated on the Hydraotes, or Rauvee.

Amidſt a violent ſtorm of hail and lightning, which concealed his army, and which may in ſome degree account for the traditionary ſtory mentioned by Mr. Hamilton [s], that he was a great magician, Alexander, in ſpite of the army of Porus, drawn up on the oppoſite ſhore, paſſed the Bidaſpes, according to Mr. Rennel's ſuppoſition, at the place where the fortreſs of Rotas now ſtands; and after defeating that prince in a regular engagement, advanced to the banks of the ſecond river of the Panjab, called by the ancients the Aceſines, but known to the preſent Indians by the name of Jenaub. This branch of the Indus is repreſented by Arrian [t] as exceedingly broad, deep, rapid, and abounding with rocks, which ſubjected both the invader and his army to the moſt imminent danger. On the ſpot where he defeated Porus, he erected a city in memory of the victory, which he called Nicæa; and another he denominated Bucephala, in honour of his favourite horſe Bucephalus, who died in this expedition of extreme old age, according to Arrian being on the verge of thirty. The former of

s See Hamilton's Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, vol. i. p. 128.
t Arriani lib. v. p. 222. editio Gronovii.

these cities, we are informed by Ptolemy, was situated on the eastern shore of the Bidaspes; the latter near the western bank, on the site where his camp had stood. No more particular notice is taken of Nicæa by the ancients than what is related above; nor can I find a town in the map of modern India corresponding with it in situation. Lahore has indeed been supposed by some writers to be the ancient Bucephala; and Bernier, when he was at that city, made some inquiry into the truth of that supposition, but remarks, that "though Alexander is sufficiently known there under the name of Sekander Filifous, that is, Alexander son of Philip; as to his horse, they know it not [u]."

Having arrived, with some loss, on the eastern bank of the Acesines, or Jenaub, Alexander, impatient to reach the Ganges, pressed on with rapidity towards the third river, called by Strabo the Hyarotes, by Arrian the Hydraotes, and by Ptolemy the Rhuadis, or Adris. In the Ayeen Akbery [x], however, it is called the Iyrawuttee, which bears a striking resemblance to Hyarotes; but Rhuadis seems to be most consonant to its present name, which is that of Rauvee. The Memoir supposes him to

u See Bernier's third letter in his Journey to Cashmire.
x Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 131.

have

have paſſed the Rauvee, on the ſpot where Lahore now ſtands. Being arrived in the territory of the Adraiſtæ, and having compelled Pimprama their capital to capitulate, Alexander found a new and moſt formidable foe to encounter in the united forces of the Cathæi, the Malli, and the Oxydracæ. The city which their combined army attempted to defend againſt the veteran Greeks was called Sangala, which Mr. Rennel thinks was ſituated between Lahore and Multan, and conſiderably out of the direct route to the Ganges. It is but in very few inſtances that we are able to trace any remote ſimilitude between the ancient and modern names of a country and people ſo little known to the ancients as thoſe of India. The voluntary migration of ſome nations to happier climes and wealthier regions; the neceſſary diſperſion of others by invaſion and conqueſt; the fluctuation to which languages are ſubject; the alteration of the beds of rivers; and many other natural and accidental cauſes, concur to render every attempt of this kind moſt uncertain and precarious. Although the exact ſite of Sangala cannot now be aſcertained, it may not be improper to remark, that Mr. Hamilton mentions, among the nations inhabiting to the ſouth of the mouths of the Indus, a fierce race of naval

robbers,

robbers, called Sanganians, from Sangania, a province of Guzerat; and the ſame tract, at the period of the voyage of Nearchus, was poſſeſſed by a people called Sangadians.

Of the Cathæi, the Oxydracæ, and the Malli, ſince they are ſaid to have been the moſt powerful and warlike nations of India, it is neceſſary to give an account ſomewhat more particular, however imperfect and unſatisfactory. Kathai, or Kathay, the eaſtern appellation of China, being a word of Tartar extraction, and in uſe, as may be proved from Curtius and Strabo, among the Aſiatic Scythians in the time of Alexander, has afforded opportunity of conjecture that the Tartars had even at the time of this expedition extended their frontiers on that ſide as far as the Hyphaſis, or Setledge, in whoſe neighbourhood the ancients have fixed the reſidence of the Cathæi, and thus had already in ſome degree laid the baſis of their future conſequence and grandeur in Hindoſtan. This early connection between the northern Indians and their Tartar neighbours is rendered probable, by the conſideration that in ſome inſtances the languages of the two nations are not diſſimilar, ſince many words occur in each language which have a kindred orthography and ſignification. Indeed Mr.

Halley,

Hadley [y], in his Grammar of the Hindostan Language, seems to hint the possibility of its being originally derived from their Tartar invaders; and gives a remarkable instance of that similarity in the name of the most celebrated conqueror of India, whose descendants for three hundred years swayed the imperial sceptre: "The signification of Tamerlane (properly Timur Lung) is Lame Timur; and the word used to express Lame, in Hindostan at this day, is Lungrau." Of this origin probably were the Cathæi, whose manly and intrepid fortitude, displayed in the defence of Sangala, seems to justify their descent from so bold and hardy a race [z].

The Oxydracæ seem to have been situated at the confluence of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, that is, the Rauvee and Jenaub, in a direction south-west of the Cathæi; and it is possible, observes the Memoir, that the present city of Outch, or Atcha, might be the capital of that martial race. Mr. R. is of opinion that Alexander never penetrated into their domain,

[y] See Hadley's Grammar, p. 13.

[z] It must not be forgotten, that the Cathæi are called in some ancient authors who have treated of Indian affairs, Cuthæi, which rather tends to corroborate than invalidate this conjecture; for from hence the word Scuthe or Scythe has by some learned etymologists been deduced.

but

but only paſſed its limits on the coaſt. He has marked, near the banks of the Hydraotes, the probable ſituation of that city, in the furious eſcalade of whoſe walls the hero who had been flattered in Perſia with the honours of deity, for the ſecond time in this Indian campaign found himſelf to be a mortal. The city of Outch is at preſent included in the province of Multan.

Of the Malli and their ſituation we are enabled, from a combination of local circumſtances that point out their reſidence, to ſpeak with greater certainty; for they inhabited a region ſtill more to the ſouth-weſt, near the ſhore of the main ſtream of the Indus; "and their capital," ſays Mr. Rennel, "was doubtleſs Multan." It may be proper, however, in this place, to note, that the Dutch traveller, Nieuhoff, mentions a hardy and warlike nation, called Malleans, whoſe reſidence is on the tops of the high mountains of Malabar, and whom he ſuppoſes to be the ſame people with the Malli mentioned by Plutarch and Curtius. He deſcribes them as differing from the Malabars in their complexion, religion, and manners, and ſuperior to them in bravery, ingenuity, and honeſty. Their principal amuſement is hunting amidſt the thick foreſts where they reſide,

and where they catch in pits the elephant and tyger: they are governed by laws peculiar to themſelves, are ſcattered through ſeveral diſtricts, in bodies of about five or ſix thouſand people, and each diſtrict has its ſeparate judge or captain. Malleam, their country, is ſituated on the mountains of Balagaut, about 150 miles north of Cape Comorin, and appears in the new map of Indoſtan about the latitude of 10° 40″.

Having taken Sangala, and, urged by a ſpirit of revenge for its reſolute reſiſtance unworthy ſo great a conqueror, having afterwards raſed it to the ground, Alexander returned, and purſuing his progreſs towards the Ganges, arrived at the fifth branch of the Indus, and moſt eaſterly river of India, which he paſſed in this expedition, called by Pliny the Hypanis, by Arrian and Curtius the Hyphaſis, and by Ptolemy the Zaradrus. The name of Zaradrus alone bears any reſemblance to its modern appellation, which is that of Suttuluz, or Setledge. In the Ayeen [a] Akbery it is ſaid anciently to have been called Shetooder. On the eaſtern bank of that river the adventurous Macedonian pauſed, not from any latent conviction of the impracticability of his ambitious project, but

[a] Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 134.

in

in constrained obedience to the united voice of his army, who refused to follow him over that dreary desart of twelve days journey which still lay between them and the Ganges, and to engage in unequal contest with the innumerable armies which they were informed the powerful and warlike nations that dwelt on its banks were able to pour into the field. The reader, by looking into the map adapted to the geography of Ptolemy, will observe, that the Zaradrus is formed by the confluence of two rivers. To the western stream Ptolemy himself gives the name of Bipasis. And here again we find a considerable resemblance between Ptolemy and the Ayeen Akbery [b]; for the Bipasis is called in the Ayeen Akbery Beypassa, although Cellarius again observes: "Ptolemæus vitiose Bipasis pro Hypasis legit." It is to the eastern current, and the main stream after this confluence, that he applies the appellation of Zaradrus. Consonant to this is the remark of the Memoir, which I shall take the liberty to transcribe in the author's own words. "The fourth river of the Panjab is the Beah, or Biah; and the fifth is the Setlege, or Suttuluz. The two rivers unite about mid-way between their springs and their junction with the Indus, and

[b] Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. 254.

The Ayeen Akbery having given the reverse of the distances between the five rivers of the Panjab, by the measurement of the Indian cose, I shall conclude this account of its rivers with an extract from that book [c]: "From the Suttuluz to the Beah the distance is 50 cose; from the Beah to the Rauvee 17 cose; from the Rauvee to the Jenaub 30 cose; from the Jenaub to the Behat 20 cose; from the Behat to the Sind 68 cose." The cose is about two English miles.

Returning, after this considerable digression, to the banks of the Indus, as we descend southward along the eastern shore, the map of ancient geography exhibits to our view the country of the Brachmanes, whose patriotic exertions in favour of their invaded country drew down upon them the severe vengeance of the Macedonian tyrant; the kingdom of the Sabracæ, a powerful republic according to Curtius; of the Sogdii, in whose country he built another city, which he called Alexandria; of the Musicani, whose king, revolting after submission, he ordered to be crucified; of the Præsti, whose more determined sovereign, Oxycanus, died bravely fighting for his country: the rich empire of Sabus, whose capital of Sindomana

[c] Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 132.

opened

opened its gates without opposition to receive the triumphant conqueror; and, finally, the noble island of Pattala, the present Tatta, where he constructed docks, and refitted his fleet, for a still more daring expedition.

Of places on the modern map, corresponding in situation with that of the people and regions above mentioned, Mr. R. only particularizes Bhakor, which, he observes, answers to the position and description of the country of the Musicani; and Hajacan, now a circar or division of Sindy, which he conjectures to have been the territory of Oxycanus: he subjoins, that in Sindomana we may recognize the country of Sindy itself, or at least that through which the river Sinde, the domestic appellation of the Indus, flows in the latter part of its course.

Southward of the mouths of the Indus we find the Canthi Sinus; that is, the gulph of Sindy, or Cutch: and the great maritime city and port of Barygaza, which likewise gave its name to the neighbouring gulph, now called Cambay. Barygaza may be the modern Bargant, or probably Baroach, a city standing on the banks of the river Nerbuddah, the Nomadus of Ptolemy. To this Emporium all the riches of the peninsula were anciently brought, through the Balagaut mountains, from

the rich and celebrated cities of Tagara and Pluthana, the Deoghir, and Pultanah of the moderns[d]. On the Sinus Barygazenus, ſtood Supara, probably Chitpore, which Cellarius ſays has been taken for the Ophir of Scripture, though others, among whom is Joſephus, ſuppoſe it to have been the Aurea Cherſoneſus, becauſe abounding with all the commodities which Solomon received from Ophir; and farther ſouthward Simylla Emporium, correſponding in ſituation to Swalley, on the river Tapti; the ancient Binda. To the ſouth of the Simyllæ Promontorium, among many obſcure cities, we may notice Tyndis, which Mr. R. ſuppoſes to have ſtood on the Site of Goa; Calecaris, the modern Calicut; Balepatna, probably Balipatan; and Byzantium and Muziris, two conſiderable marts of India, but greatly infeſted by pirates, as indeed the neighbourhood is at this day. Muziris, Mr. R. inclines to think, is the modern Merjee, or Meerzaw; Nitrias, the ſeat of thoſe pirates, the preſent Newtya; and Barace, Barcelore. Below the river Baris were ſituated Elancon Emporium, and Cottiora metropolis; at the extreme ſouthern point, the town and promontory of Comar, which anſwers to Cape Comorin; and to the ſouth-eaſt of that cape the great iſland of Tiprobana, or Ceyloan.

d See Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. I. p. 371.

Having

Having paſſed round the Comarian promontory, called by the Indians Gebal Kamarum, the map of Ptolemy preſents to our view the Sinus Colchicus, which is ſeparated from the Sinus Argaricus (ſo called from Colchi and Argari, two cities of commercial eminence on the coaſt) by the promontory of Cory, or Colis, and near it ſtands the inſula Cory, now called Ramankoil, or the temple of Rama. The famous ridge of rocks extending from this iſland to Manar, on the iſland of Ceyloan, called Adam's Bridge, Sir W. Jones contends ſhould be entitled Rama's Bridge[g]; and the preſent name of this promontory and iſland ſtrengthens his remark. Madura Regia Pandionis muſt doubtleſs mean the Madura of modern maps; Nigamma metropolis anſwers to Nega-patan; Chaberi Oſtia, and Chaberi Emporium, indiſputably point out the port of the river Caveri, and city of Caveri-patan; Melange, or rather Maliarpha Emporium, not far diſtant upon the coaſt, ſeems to be Meliapour, or Malliapore, as Hamilton writes it; Puduce, Pullicat; and Sobura, Soopour. Entering the great Sinus Gangeticus, or gulph of Bengal, we find Cotto-bara, perhaps Devi-cotta, or Cotta-patan; and Sippora, plainly Narſipoor. Meſolia marks the

g See Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. i, p. 257.

diſtrict

district of Masulipatan; Cocola is undoubtedly Cicacole; and Cosamba answers in situation to Balasore. Near the mouths of the Ganges were seated the Calingæ. A city denominated Calingapatam is marked on Mr. R.'s map; and it is not impossible that the once impregnable fortress of Callinger, in the Soobah of Allahabad, of so great antiquity, that the Ayeen Akbery says[h], "no one can tell by whom it was founded," might have owed to them its name and existence.

The Ganga Regia of Ptolemy, Mr. R. informs us, has been supposed to be Gour, or Lucknowti, whose extensive and stupendous ruins seem to justify the assertion; and higher up on the main stream of the Ganges the two most potent nations of India, the Gangarides and the Prasii, or, as Ptolemy calls them, Prasiatæ, had their residence. Athenagarum, from its situation, Mr. R. supposes to be Oud; the Uxentius Mons, the hills of Bundelcund and Bahar; Maliba, Matura; Panassa, Paana, the famous diamond mine; and Palibothra, Pataliputra, or Patna. Of the Gangarides, who are sometimes called Calingæ Gangaridæ, from being intermixed with the Calingæ, Gangia Re-

h Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 36.

gia was probably the capital; but the great city of Palibothra, which not only gave law but name to a vaſt ſurrounding diſtrict, was the celebrated metropolis of the Praſii. They were indeed frequently denominated from thence Palibothri, and their king Palibothrus; and ſo formidable were they in the field, that the ſoldiers of Alexander, as we have before hinted, terrified at the accounts brought to them of their intrepidity and reſources, refuſed to paſs the Hyphaſis, and advance to the banks of the Ganges, even when within twelve days march of that river.

With reſpect to the nations that inhabited the inland regions of the peninſula, nothing deciſive can be aſcertained concerning them from the accounts of authors commonly called claſſical; for as the Greeks had very imperfect and inadequate ideas of the parts of India which they did traverſe, it is not to be ſuppoſed they could arrive at any very authentic information concerning the parts which they did not explore. To this dearth of geographical knowledge, their total ignorance of the Indian language not a little contributed; and their fondneſs for moulding foreign names to a Grecian form, has added much to the confuſion in which both the hiſtory and geography of that people are involved

volved. This cuſtom was ſo prevalent among them, that Sir William Jones has remarked that there is hardly an Aſiatic word, beſide Por, or Porus, which they have not corrupted. Who, indeed, could have imagined, that out of Ucha[f], the name of an Indian nation, Oxydracæ, a compound Greek word, ſignifying ſharp-ſighted, ſhould have been formed and applied in their hiſtory to that people; that Gogra ſhoulld be converted into Agoramis; and Renas into Aornus? By indulgingth eir fancy in this romantic manner, they have thrown difficulties, almoſt inſuperable, in the way of the geographer and the hiſtorian; and they have nearly defeated the end which their vanity had in view, by obſcuring their brighteſt exploits, and giving their victories almoſt the air of fiction. Inſtead, therefore, of engaging farther in uſeleſs diſcuſſions relative to the names and ſituation of the various inferior cities of ancient India, let us direct our attention to the capital; an object at once magnificent and intereſting, and of which their accounts are more particular and more uniform.

[f] See, on this ſubject, Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. i. p. 4.

CHAP. II.

Of the Extent and Grandeur of the City of Palibothra, the ſuppoſed Capital of ancient India, according to the claſſical Writers of Greece and Rome—The Accounts given by oriental Writers of the Magnificence of Canouge, its Metropolis in leſs remote Æras—A ſhort hiſtorical Account of the Capitals of Delhi, Lahore, and Agra.

THE riches, the ſplendour, and magnitude of a capital are the moſt deciſive proof of the extended commerce, the power, and conſequence of an empire. In reviewing the ancient glory of each ſucceſſive metropolis of India, we ſhall be led to admire the genius and induſtry of that celebrated people, and the wiſdom and policy of their governors, who raiſed it to that ſuperior degree of eminence.

Although it be now determined that Palibothra and Canouge were not the ſame capitals, yet the circumſtances that led to that conjecture are very ſtrong, and deſerve ſome notice.

Pali-

Palibothra is placed on the map[i] of Ptolemy in the 27th degree of north latitude; in Mr. R.'s map Canouge is fixed in latitude 27° 3', an inconsiderable difference indeed, when we recollect that the one is the most ancient, and the other the most modern map extant. Indeed it is worthy of remark, and greatly to the honour of Ptolemy's fidelity, that on a comparison of the latitudes of five different places between the Indus and Ganges, Mr. R. found the greatest difference to be only twelve minutes between the latitudes of that geographer and his own. Palibothra, he observed in the former edition of his Memoir[k], is placed by Ptolemy between the towns of Malibi on the west, and Athenagarum on the east. The latitude given for Palibothra is within three miles of that of Canouge: now the latitudes of Maliba and Athenagarum are nearly those of Matura, and Audiah, or Oude; and the proportional distances of the former from Palibothra answer minutely to those of the latter from Canouge.

But the great circumstance that seemed to place the supposition of Mr. R. beyond all doubt was, the relation given us of the astonishing opulence and splendour of Palibothra in all the ancient

i Asiæ, Tab. [illegible].
k Memoir, first edition, p. 42.

writers

writers of foreign extraction, and the corroborating testimony of the native historians of India, in regard to Canouge, who, in their description of this great city, fill us with the loftiest notions of its power, extent, population, and grandeur. Mr. R. has presented us with a cursory account of both those cities: but I shall take a more extensive retrospect of the history of those celebrated places, and consider what may be collected from writers of most ancient date, compared with more modern accounts. Pliny, speaking of the capital of the Prasii, says: "Omnium in India prope, non modo in hoc tractu, potentiam claritatemque antecedunt Prasii, amplissima urbe ditissimaque Palibotra [n]." Ptolemy denominates it Παλιβοθρα Βασιλειον, the royal Palibothra; and Strabo [o], from the account of Megasthenes, who had been there, particularizes its situation, extent, and dimensions. He asserts that it was situated at the conflux of another river with the Ganges; that its figure was quadrangular; that in length it was eighty stadia, in breadth fifteen stadia; that it had a fortification of wood, with turrets for the archers to shoot from, and was surrounded by a vast ditch, as well for the sake

n Plinius, lib. vi. cap. 19.
o Strabo, lib. xv. p. 657.

of

of defence, as to receive the filth of so large a city.

Arrian[p] calls it μεγιστην πολιν Ινδοισιν, the greatest city among the Indians; and adds, that it was situated at the point of confluence of the Erannaboa and the Ganges. By the Erannoboa he is supposed to have meant the Jomanes, and writes the word Palimbothra. He gives the same number of stadia for its length and breadth as Strabo; mentions the prodigious fosse, whose breadth was εξαπλεθρον, sex jugerum, and forty-five feet deep; that there were on its walls five hundred and seventy towers, and that it had sixty-five gates. Such is the account given of the city itself by those ancient geographers, by Pliny and Arrian.

Of the vast power and military forces of the reigning sovereigns of Palibothra we find particular mention made in the historians Diodorus Siculus, in Curtius, in Justin, and Plutarch, from whose accounts we should be led to think that the kings of the Præsii and Gangarides, on any national emergency, constantly united their armies, or at least were joined in the strictest bonds of alliance, for their names are invariably mentioned together. The king

p Arrianus, p. 324.

of

of the Gangarides was most probably a raja tributary to the supreme raja of Palibothra, or, as was formerly conjectured, Canouge.

Diodorus [q] informs us, that when Alexander had passed the Hyphasis, he was informed that if he continued his progress towards the Ganges, after crossing a desart of twelve (Curtius says eleven) days journey, he would meet on the banks of that river the most formidable sovereign of India, called Xambranes, king of the Gangarides, a name which seems here intended to include both nations, at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots of war, and four thousand fighting elephants. Curtius calls [r] the king of the Gangarides and Pharrasis, by which he must mean the Prasians of other writers, Agrammes; asserts that he guarded the frontiers of his dominions with twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot; and that he could bring into the field two thousand chariots, and three thousand elephants. Plutarch [s] computes the power and forces of these mighty kings at a still more extravagant rate; for he says their combined army amounted to eighty thousand horse, two hun-

[q] Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 678.
[r] Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 2.
[s] Plut. in Vita Alex.

dred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand elephants of war. Convinced that the magnitude of these forces would appear incredible to his readers, he assures them it was no idle report; for that Sandrocottus (the Sinsarchund of Ferishta's Indian history), who was then but a youth, and saw Alexander in his camp, some years afterwards conquered all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men; and bought the friendship of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, with a present of five hundred elephants. Sandrocottus told the ambassadors of Seleucus, that the prince at that time reigning was detested for his cruelty, and despised for the meanness of his extraction; and that most probably, if Alexander had pushed on to the Ganges, he would have been victorious over him, from the general disaffection that reigned among his troops. Curtius[s] relates the same circumstance of Agrammes, which word is perhaps only a corruption of Xambranes; adding, that his father was of the basest rank of plebeians, and with great difficulty subsisted by following the occupation of a BARBER;

[s] Ceterum qui regnant, non modo ignobilem esse sed etiam ultimæ sortis; quippe patrem ejus, TONSOREM vix diurno quæstu propulsantem famam. Curtius, editio Snakenb. tom. ii. p. 679.

but

but that having, from the beauty of his perſon, attracted the notice of the reigning queen, ſhe had exalted him to a ſhare of her bed; in return for which inſtance of royal condeſcenſion, the ungrateful wretch had murdered his ſovereign, uſurped her kingdom, and maſſacred the lawful heir of the throne, to make way for the elevation of his own ſon to empire.

Juſtin[†] gives to Alexander the honour of conquering the Gangarides, but mentions another nation by the name of Cuphites (Græviús his commentator thinks it ſhould be Sophites; but both are probably miſtaken in the name), who were ready to engage him with two hundred thouſand horſe, but with whom his haraſſed ſoldiers refuſed to fight, demanding to be led back to their native country, that their mangled and emaciated carcaſes might at laſt find reſt in the ſepulchres of their fathers.

But it is now time to enquire whether the accounts given us of Canouge by the oriental hiſtórians, in any degree equal the lofty deſcription of Palibothra above recited.

The ſame elegant and learned Abul Fazel, who, at the command of Sultan Acbar, compiled the Ayeen Akbery, alſo tranſlated, by the deſire of his maſter, the famous Indian hiſtori-

† Juſtinus, lib. xii. cap. 8.

cal poem called the Mahabbarit, or Hiſtory of the great War. In the Mahabbarit, Owde, the capital of a province of the ſame name to the north-eaſt of Bengal, is ſaid to have been the firſt regular imperial city of Indoſtan. It was built in the reign of Kriſhen, one of the moſt ancient rajas, a name which is likewiſe applied to a deity of the Hindoos. "That ancient city," ſays Sir W. Jones, in the Aſiatic Reſearches[u], "extended, if we may believe the Bramins, over a line of ten yojans, or about forty miles; and the preſent city of Lucknow was only a lodge for one of its gates. It is ſuppoſed to have been the birth-place of Rama." The Ayeen Akbery[x] reports Owde to have been in ancient time 148 coſs in length, and 36 coſs in breadth. According to the Mahabbarit, Owde continued the imperial city during the ſpace of about fifteen hundred years, when one of the princes of the dynaſty of the Surajas, a race who boaſted their name and deſcent from the Sun, erected upon the *banks of the Ganges the great city of Canouge*, the circumference of whoſe walls is there ſaid to have been fifty coſs, or one hundred miles.

[u] See Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. i. p. 259.

[x] Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 41.

This

This event took place about the year 1000 before the Christian æra. The ſimple and pure worſhip of the deity, preſcribed by Brama, is ſaid about this period to have degenerated into an idolatrous veneration of the hoſt of heaven, and the elements of nature. Temples and images were erected, and ſacred rites inſtituted, in honour of the memory of heroes eminent in arts, or ſucceſsful in war; and Canouge was adorned with the lofty edifices raiſed by royal vanity and vulgar ſuperſtition.

Sinkol, a native of Canouge, and the third emperor in ſucceſſion after the extinction of the dynaſty above mentioned, is aſſerted, in the ſame book, to have kept up an army, whoſe magnitude greatly exceeds, in the number of foot and horſe, the forces enumerated by Plutarch; and in that of elephants, it is remarkable, exactly equals the amount ſtated by Diodorus Siculus. Sinkol brought into the field againſt Affraſiah, king of Perſia, four thouſand elephants of war, a hundred thouſand horſe, and four hundred thouſand foot; a force which, except in the number of elephants, ought not to be thought incredible, ſince (not to mention Xerxes's million) Timur is acknowledged to have had at one time nine hundred thouſand men in the field; ſince Aurengzebe, in this century, maintained

 a ſtand-

a standing force of five hundred thousand men; since the army which followed Mahommed Shah to the plains of Karnal was so vast as to defy computation, and according to the strong expression of a modern writer, "to be famished by its own numbers;" and since a Soobahdar of the Decan, almost in our own times, could bring into the field an army of eighty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot.

The son and successor of Sinkol dying without issue to inherit the throne, we are told Canouge was involved in civil distractions; but afterwards we find Delu, the founder of Delhi, reigning in peace and splendour upon its throne, till invaded by the usurper Foor (the father of that Porus who was the antagonist of Alexander), who took him prisoner, and ravaged his metropolis, but seems not to have made it the seat of his empire.

Sinsarchund, or Sandrocottus, the successor of Porus, who took advantage of the convulsed state of the empire occasioned by that invasion, to raise himself to the throne, at the head of an immense army, restored to Canouge the honour of being the capital of Hindostan, and received there the ambassadors of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, among whom was Megasthenes, the principal negotiator between

tween the two monarchs, about three hundred years before the Chriſtian æra. Jona, the ſecond in ſucceſſion from Sinſarchund, is ſaid not only to have reigned himſelf in great tranquillity at Canouge, but his poſterity afterwards are related to have peaceably poſſeſſed the throne during a period of ninety years.

Callian Chund, a warlike and ſanguinary prince, who reigned over Hindoſtan about 170 years before Chriſt, and may poſſibly be the Demetrius of Juſtin [y], is ſaid in Feriſhta to have been driven, on account of his tyranny, from the throne, by a general inſurrection of the rajas, dependent upon his authority. With him the regular empire of India may be ſaid to have fallen; for after this event many years of diſcord and anarchy enſued, and each more powerful raja became alternately a competitor for the ſupreme authority.

A long period of obſcurity in the hiſtory of the kings of Canouge now ſucceeds; but in this dearth of Indian hiſtory we may derive a glimmering of information from the Roman annals; where we are informed, that in the time of Auguſtus an Indian embaſſy arrived at Rome from a monarch of the name of Porus, who boaſted in his letters, that ſix hundred kings or rajas were tributary to him; which, if true, could only be true of the ſupreme lord or em-

[y] See Juſtin, lib. xli. cap. 6.

peror of Hindostan. Now Jona in Ferishta is said to have been a grand nephew of Phoor; and it is not impossible that one of the same family might have headed the rebellious rajas, and fixed the supreme dominion once more in his own martial line. This disquisition, however, more properly belongs to the general history of India, than to this abridged account of Canouge and its kings. I shall therefore pass on to the reign of Basdeo, that monarch who, according both to Persian and Hindoo writers, entertained in this capital Baharam Gore, king of Iran, or Persia, who had come in the disguise of a merchant, to explore the truth of what he had heard concerning its vast opulence, and the grandeur of its monarch. In the neighbourhood of this city he is said to have met with a wild elephant, who in the season of lust had rushed furiously from the woods, and, attacking Baharam, was slain by him. The celebrity he acquired by this feat was the means of his introduction to the notice of the king, at whose court he was known by some nobles who had been in Persia, and reluctantly constrained to assume his proper character, in which he was treated with the utmost magnificence, and in the end espoused the only daughter of the Indian monarch [a].

a Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 158, and Ferishta, p. 13.

Who

Who were the two Phraotes, father and ſon, who reigned in India when Apollonius Tyanæus, according to his biographer Philoſtratus, viſited that country in the firſt century, the ſcanty records we have of Indian affairs at this period will not guide us in determining: they were, however, probably among the number of thoſe more formidable rajas, who during the civil commotions roſe to the imperial diadem. The ſame Philoſtratus informs us that the kingdom of the ancient Porus on the weſtern ſide of India was at the ſame time governed by Mandrus. I take the kingdom of Mandrus to have been that of Delhi, which was about this time riſing into great eminence as the rival metropolis of Canouge.

Leaving for future conſideration the dubious names and characters of the ſucceſſors of theſe princes in the ſovereignty of India, mentioned either by Indian or Roman hiſtorians, I come to the reign of Ramdeo Rhator, or the Maratta, who in the beginning of the fifth century, after a campaign of five months, having ſubdued near FIVE HUNDRED rebellious rajas and zemeendars, entered Canouge in all the pomp and triumph of a conqueror. In memory of his victories he made a magnificent feſtival for his army in that metropolis, and divided

divided among his soldiers the spoils of the vanquished rajas, distributing to each forty pieces of gold, and throwing to the populace a third part of the amazing booty. He reigned fifty-four years in Canouge, and seems to have established the empire on a new and more permanent basis.

The last king of Canouge, considered as the metropolis of a great empire, was Maldeo, who likewise added the kingdom of Delhi to his dominion. In his reign, that is, in the beginning of the sixth century, we are told that this city was grown so populous, that there were in it thirty thousand shops in which areca, or beetle-nut [b], which the Hindoos almost universally use as the Europeans do tobacco, was sold; and sixty thousand bands of musicians and singers, who paid a tax to the government, resided there: from which circumstance we may judge of the great extent, and, it may be added, the dissipation, of this renowned capital.

From this period we read no more of Canouge as the metropolis of Hindostan; for Maldeo dying at the end of forty years, and having no issue, every petty raja again rendered him-

[b] In the Ayeen Akbery it is said, that the Soobah of Agra, in which Canouge stands, is remarkable for producing very excellent beetle-leaf. In the same book, under Siicar KINOJE, (p. 41.) the reader will notice PUTTYALY, and PUTTYALYPOOR.

self

ſelf independant in his government. It ſtill continued, however, a very magnificent city; its raja poſſeſſed the firſt rank, both of civil and military diſtinction; and we find his name particularly mentioned among the five great rajas who united to oppoſe the firſt invaſion of Subuctagi, or Sabektekin, as the Arabians, and D'Herbelot after them, write the word. When Sultan Mahmud Gaznavi, about the year 1000, penetrated through the mountains of Tibet, and inveſted Canouge, he is ſaid there to have ſeen a city which raiſed its head to the firmament, and which in ſtrength and ſtructure might juſtly boaſt to have no equal [c]. We are informed that its reigning ſovereign, raja Korrah, affected to live in great pomp and ſplendour, but that not being prepared for ſo unexpected an attack, he ſurrendered himſelf and his city to the ſultan, who ſtaid in Canouge three days [d]. Thus Canouge at length became an appendage to the great empire eſtabliſhed by Mahmud, from its capital Gazna, called Gaznavide; and we read little more of it worthy notice in the domeſtic hiſtory of India.

Turning to the Ayeen Akbery, and looking for Canouge, under the Soobah in which it is ſituated, I find nothing deſcriptive of its ancient extent and

c Feriſhta, vol. i. p. 27. d Ibid. p. 57.

grandeur,

grandeur, but only the corroborative intelligence that "in ancient times Kinoje was the CAPITAL city of Hindoſtan :" nor is there any hiſtorical account, as uſual, added to the ſhort geographical ſketch of the province. There is, however, a valuable fragment of hiſtory annexed to the account of the Soobah of Delhi, which will be of material ſervice to me in the ſubſequent pages: and in that hiſtory there is an alluſion to a ſovereign of Canouge, which ſeems to prove, notwithſtanding the evidence I have cited to the contrary, that ſo late as the year 588 of the Hegira, or A. D. 1192, the raja of Canouge was ſtill the ſupreme ſovereign of the empire of Hindoſtan. Indeed it expreſsly affirms it of raja Jychund, the prince then reigning; but whether that prince aſcended the throne by hereditary right, or by violence, is not to be aſcertained. It is indeed a beautiful ſtory, and, though ſomewhat romantic towards the concluſion, fully proves the abſolute dependance of all the inferior rajas upon the monarch of Canouge. This, however, is by no means the only evidence which that book ſupplies in favour of the ſuppoſition that Canouge was once the imperial city, not only of a vaſt kingdom on the Ganges, as is conjectured by Mr. Rennel, but of all Hindoſtan. Although the raja of

Guzurat,

Guzurat, as that gentleman obligingly informed me, might have been the Balhara of Edrisi, yet that in the early periods of the Hegira, even the remote kingdom of Guzurat was dependant on the sovereign of Canouge, is manifest from the history there given of that Soobah, in which it is expressly asserted, upon the authority of Hindoo annals, that in A. H. 154, Bunsrai became the first independent monarch of Guzurat, and that the earliest effort of his rebellion was the act "of seizing[e] the royal treasure which was going to Canouge." If the historical accounts in the Ayeen Akbery are not to be depended upon, where is authenticity to be found? We must at least be guided by them until we can obtain others more genuine: and I shall ever be happy to improve and correct my history by them, when in my power to acquire more certain documents.

The oriental writers are extravagant in their accounts of the immense wealth acquired by Mahmud in his expedition against Canouge[f]. They say that India was then divided among several kings, of which one who had the title of Balhara, a word signifying king of kings,

[e] Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 89.

[f] Sherifedin, in his Life of Timur Bec, mentions a Persian history of Mahmud's Indian incursions, called Yemini, which particularly celebrates his conquest of Canouge. Timur Bec vol. ii. p. 79.

and

and reigned at Canouge, was the chief. They affirm the conqueſt of the kingdom of Balhara, which at length he accompliſhed, the moſt illuſtrious of all his exploits, and enumerate the immenſe wealth, and the incredible number of ſlaves he carried back to Gazna. D'Herbelot, in copying thoſe writers, as I ſhall hereafter prove, has miſ-ſpelt the word Kinoje [f]; he writes it Kiſraje, and has led the authors of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, who verbally tranſlate the article from the Bibliothique Oriental, into the ſame error.

Sir William Jones [g], ſpeaking of this part of India, ſays: "The ancient ſyſtem of government which prevailed in this country ſeems to have been perfectly feudal; all the territories were governed by rais, or rajas, who held their lands of a ſupreme lord, called Belhár; the ſeat of whoſe reſidence was the city of Canouge, now in ruins." The paſſage in the Ayeen Akbery referred to above, exhibits a curious proof of this feudal dependance of the ſubordinate rajas, and the neceſſity of their paying homage in perſon, at ſtated periods, to the ſupreme Belhár; for at a great feſtival or ſacrifice called Raiſoo [h], at which all the rajas of Hindoſtan

[f] See D'Herbelot on the article Mahmud Gaznavi; and the Modern Univ. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 178. firſt 8vo edit.

[g] Short Hiſt. of Aſia, p. 36.

[h] Raiſoo, the ſame feaſt of which we read in the Mahabharit.

doſtan were obliged to attend, and of which the meaneſt offices, "even to the duties of the ſcullery," were performed by rajas; Pithowra, the raja of Delhi, from contempt of the ſovereign not attending, "that the feſtival might not be incomplete," an effigy in gold of the abſent raja was formed, and by way of retorted contempt aſſigned the ignoble office of porter of the gate. The raſhneſs of Pithowra in the end coſt him his crown and his life.

The ruins of Canouge, Mr. Rennel obſerves, are even at this day of very great extent; and, from the evidence thus collected together, and apparently inapplicable to any other place on that ſide of India, it appeared to me ſufficiently manifeſt that Canouge was indiſputably the Palibothra of the ancients. That idea, however, being now abandoned, we can only ſolve the difficulty by ſuppoſing, with the Memoir, that it is poſſible both cities might have been occaſionally uſed as capitals of the Praſii, as Delhi and Agra have been in later periods of the empire in general; and that, in the accounts given of them by foreigners, they have been frequently confounded together, or the one miſtaken for the other.

The city of DELHI, according to Feriſhta, was founded by DELU, the uſurper of the throne

of

of Hindoſtan, about 300 years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra; but according to the more probable account of the Ayeen Akbery [i], Aurungpaul of the Tenore tribe was its real founder, in the year 429 of the æra of Bickermajit [k]; an æra not greatly diſſimilar from that of Chriſt. It was for a ſeries of ages governed by its own rajas, who ſeem to have had conſiderable weight in the empire, and to have been very active in repelling both the ancient Perſian, and more modern Mohammedan invaders of Hindoſtan. They were deſcended from, and were for ſome time tributary to, the great rajas of Lahore, of the race of BAL, or PAUL, a name celebrated for valour in the heroic hiſtories of the country: this family is denominated Jeipal by Feriſhta, but Gebal by D'Herbelot, from other hiſtorians of the Gaznavide Sultans. By this appellation the latter diſtinguiſhes [l] "le plus puiſſant roy de l'Indoſtan;" and in another place calls him, "Bal, fils D'Andbal, eſtimé le plus riche et le plus puiſſant roy de TOUT L'INDOSTAN." I think there can hardly be a doubt, when we conſider their great military fame, and their place of reſidence, but that this long, hereditary, and

i Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 118.

k Bickermajit flouriſhed in the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra.

l Bibliothique Oriental, p. 534.

illuſtrious

illuſtrious race of Bal, or Paul, was the ſame as that of Porus, ſo often mentioned by claſſical writers. I am aware, however, that Bal (whence the word Bal-hara [m], or the greateſt lord, is formed) may be only a title of regal diſtinction, and was ſometimes uſurped by the ſovereigns of other Soobahs. Twenty princes of this line are particularly ſaid, in the Ayeen Akbery, to have enjoyed in regular ſucceſſion, for 437 years, the throne of Delhi, not yet imperial. An extenſive territory to the north and ſouth of Delhi was ſubject to the controul of its raja, ſince we read in Feriſhta, that the ancient and hallowed cities both of Tannaſar (the Tanaſis of Ptolemy) and Muttra, or Matura, (the Methora of Pliny) ſituated only thirty-ſix miles north of Agra, and ſtill a conſiderable city, were under his juriſdiction and protection. The laſt of its native princes, according to the Ayeen Akbery, was Pithowra, from whoſe family it was conquered by the Mohammedan ſlave Cuttub, or Cothbeddin Ibek, as he is called by Herbelot, who made Delhi the capital of the vaſt empire which he eſtabliſhed in Hindoſtan. The prince from whom it was immediately taken is ſaid by Feriſhta to have been called Candi; and, as whenever I quote this

[m] BALHARA is derived either from the Perſian BALLA, high; or the Arabic BAL, lord; MAHA, mighty, and RAL, or RAJA, ſovereign. Many Perſian words are blended with Sanſcreet.

E   author

author I always ſeek for collateral evidence, in Marco Polo's Indian Travels I find mention made of a raja of the ſame name, who is affirmed to have been the chief of the four great kings who then reigned in the peninſula. Candi loſt his throne nearly at the expiration of the twelfth century [n]: Marco Polo viſited India about the middle of the thirteenth century; and it is not improbable that the exiled family, though unable to oppoſe the torrent of Mohammedan ſucceſs, might ſtill retain ſufficient vigour and reſources to ſecure a reſpectable territory in the ſouthern regions of that extenſive country. That the deſcendants of the race of Bal did retire ſouthward from the exterminating fury of the Mohammedans, ſeems to be apparent from what Mr. Chambers in the Aſiatic Reſearches has related concerning the extenſive and ruinous remains of a vaſt city near Sadras, on the Coromondel coaſt, now called Mavalipuram, but which he contends in Sanſcreet might have been written Mahabalipur, or the city of the great Bali. The greater part of theſe ruins have been corroded and waſhed away by the violent inroad of the ſea, on whoſe border they now ſtand; but from which it is probable they were in former ages ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance. The

[n] See his Travels in Campbell's edition of Harris, vol. i. p. 621.

more

more ancient inhabitants of the place now living remember when a far greater number of Pagodas than at present appear, raised their heads above the water, which, being covered with copper, and probably gilt, reflected the rays of the rising sun, and diffused a glory over the ocean that seemed to indicate how wide, and at the same time how magnificent were the ruins it concealed. A city also, called Balipatna, stands on the Malabar coast, which may be considered as an additional proof to what is recorded in D'Anville from Edrisi, of the extensive power and dominion of this very ancient race.

While I am upon the subject of these ancient monuments of Indian grandeur, so eagerly and so laudably investigated by the gentlemen who compose the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, as containing irrefragable testimony in support and elucidation of many great historical but doubtful points, such as occur in almost every page of the Indian annals, let me not forget to remark, that the same book contains a grant of land, bearing date twenty-three years before the commencement of the Christian æra, of one of the rajas of this very name, who is stiled Deb Paul Deb, equally instructive to the historian, and interesting to the antiquary. Among much

other curious and useful information, of which I hope hereafter to avail myself, this Paul is said to have been the son of Dharmo Paul, who married the daughter of a celebrated raja called Poro-Bal, and the union of two such words in the same name, and *that* the name of a raja of eminence, will, I hope, rescue my former conjecture from any severe animadversion.

Delhi is situated in latitude 28° 37′. If we may believe the Mahabbarit, it stands upon the site of a most ancient city, called Inderput, in times justly reputed fabulous the metropolis of the country. The Ayeen Akbery, however, confirms this account, expressly asserting that Delhi is a very ancient city, "and was formerly called Inderput." Delhi rose to renown as the glory of Canouge declined. Its consequence as an imperial city increased with that of the Mohammedan dynasty which bears its name, and it continued to flourish as one of the most splendid cities of Asia, and as the unrivalled metropolis of Hindostan under all the sultans of the Gaznavide, the Gauride, and Charazmian dynasties; each successive monarch adorned this envied city with some signal memorial of royal magnificence: it was surrounded with beautiful gardens and aromatic groves; and was filled with innumerable edifices, erected

for

for the purpofes of commerce, appropriated to the diffufion of fcience, or devoted to the fanctities of religion.

At the period of the invafion of Timur Bec, Delhi is faid to have arrived at a point of diftinction in regard to its unequalled wealth and extended commerce, which it never after reached. Sherifeddin, the Perfian hiftorian of his life, defcribes that capital[o] as confifting of three cities, which he denominates Seiri, Gehanpenah, and Old Delhi. Seiri was invefted with a ftrong circular wall[p]; Old Delhi, or the ancient Inderput, had likewife a circular wall, but far more confiderable in extent. Gehanpenah occupied the fpace between the two cities, and was confiderably larger than either: the walls by which it was fortified running on each fide in parallel lines, and connecting the two former cities. The metropolis, thus formed of three great cities, fpread over a very wide extent of ground; and, according to Sherifeddin, had no lefs than thirty, others fay fifty, gates. It was celebrated, he informs us, for a mofque of aftonifhing dimenfions, and for a palace of admirable magnificence, which was erected by

o See Sherifeddin's Timur Bec, vol. ii. p. 67.

p In the Ayeen Akbery Seiri is faid to have been built by Sultan Alladeen.

Malek Jona, an ancient king of India, and was ornamented with a thousand marble columns[q]. The Persian authors are lavish in their praises of this great and beautiful metropolis. The seat of voluptuousness, and the central repository of whatever the vast traffic carried on by the Indian merchants with Persia, Arabia, and China, produced, it abounded with costly rarities of every kind; the tribute of the most distant climes, the labour of the most skilful artificers. But a savage conqueror now approached, before whom the pride of India, and the delight of her sovereigns, must bow the head. Through a deluge of human blood, shed in his progress from Samarcand to India, and fresh from the unprovoked massacre of 100,000 captive Hindoos, who were left expiring almost beneath its walls, the merciless Timur pressed on to its destruction. He entered the city in triumph, on the 4th of January 1399. The great standard of the Tartarian empire was immediately erected on its walls; and the usurper, seated upon the

q Mr. Finch, one of the first and most respectable visitants of India in the last century, in describing the ruins of Old Delhi, particularizes the remains of this august pile, which at that period (1609) little more than 200 years after Timur's invasion, was mouldered away to what he calls "a mere carcase, worn out and disfigured to the last degree." Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 88.

throne

throne of India, in all the pride of conqueſt, received the proſtrate obeiſance of the nobility of both nations. The royal elephants and rhinoceros, adorned with rich trappings of gold and ſilver, were brought to the foot of the throne, and, inſtructed by their leaders, made the *ſalaam* of gratulation. Some days were conſumed in rewarding with ſuitable honours the princes and generals of the victorious army, in banquets of unbounded magnificence, and in inſulting heaven with the grateful vows of ſucceſsful tyranny. At length, on ſome reſiſtance reluctantly made by the inhabitants to the wanton outrages of their conquerors, Delhi, and all the wonders it contained, was given up to be pillaged by an enraged ſoldiery; and on the 13th of the ſame month "that great and proud city was deſtroyed." We may form ſome judgment of the enormous booty obtained in this general pillage, from the account given by the ſame author of the number of ſlaves made captive, and of the immenſe quantities of precious ſtones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, gold and ſilver veſſels, money, and bullion, carried away by the army. Even the Indian women and girls are ſaid to have been adorned with a profuſion of precious ſtones, and had bracelets and rings of gold, and jewels, not only on their

 hands

hands and feet, but alſo on their toes. Of theſe precious ornaments every individual had ſecured ſo ample a ſtore, that they refuſed the incumbrance of more, and vaſt heaps of various plunder of ineſtimable value were left behind. Theſe are nearly the words of the Perſian author, who bears the ſtricteſt character in the Eaſt for veracity, and who was contemporary with the monarch whoſe hiſtory he relates.

Under the dynaſty of kings that immediately ſucceeded the invaſion of Timur, Delhi ſoon recovered its priſtine ſplendour and importance as the imperial city of Hindoſtan. In the courſe of a few ages that city became again crowded with many majeſtic monuments of Patan grandeur, in moſques, baths, and caravanſeras, and the ſepulchres of its deceaſed monarchs of that line, as well as of many other holy and illuſtrious men, whoſe names are enumerated in the Ayeen Akbery, preſented to the eye of travellers an awful and ſtriking ſpectacle.

When Baber, advancing from his imperial city of Cabul, on the north-weſt frontiers of Hindoſtan, had overturned the power of the Patans in the perſon of Ibrahim, the court reſided alternately at Agra and Delhi. The uſurper Shire, who during his ſhort reign erected throughout Hindoſtan many ſtately edifices, and

among

among others that ſuperb mauſoleum in Bahar [r], in which he lies interred, pulled down the ancient town of Seiri, and built a new city on its foundation; which, however, when Abul Fazil, who relates this fact, wrote the Inſtitutes of Acbar, was for the moſt part in ruins. Homaion, on his reſtoration to that throne, which Shire and his family had ſo long uſurped, laid the foundations of a new and magnificent palace at Delhi, which he did not live to finiſh; but meeting his fate ſhortly after in that city, from the effects of too powerful a doſe of opium, was himſelf buried on the banks of the neighbouring Jumna, where a noble monument was erected over his remains by the great Acbar, his ſon and ſucceſſor in the imperial dignity. That moſt renowned of all the ſovereigns of the houſe of Timur, contributed no otherwiſe to its ornament; but, on the contrary, by fixing his reſidence for the moſt part at Agra, and laviſhing ſuch immenſe ſums on the ſtructure of its caſtle, and on the ſtupendous erections at Secundra in its neighbourhood, completed the ruin which time and neglect had united to

[r] This noble monument of the magnificience of Shire ſtill remains entire. It ſtands in the centre of a grand artificial lake, nearly a mile in length. There has been lately publiſhed an elegant engraving of it, from a painting by Mr. Hodges.

ſpread

spread through the wide circumference, and amidst the desolated towers of Delhi.

Notwithstanding the astonishing sums expended by Acbar on the palace, or rather the castle of Agra, for all the eastern palaces are built with a view to defence, the situation, upon a scorched sandy soil, and under a more southern sun, was neither esteemed so salubrious by his successors, nor so centrical for the command of the various provinces of the empire, according to its divisions at that period (for the southern parts of the peninsula were not yet subjugated), as was that of Delhi[a]. The turbulent governors of the northern provinces bordering upon Persia were perpetually fomenting rebellions; and for their extinction were required the speedy, the effectual, and the concentrated exertions of the supreme authority. Actuated partly by these motives, and partly by the desire of immortalizing his name, in the erection of a city that should exceed in grandeur all the other cities of Hindostan, Jehaun Shaw, the grandson of Acbar, in A. D. 1647, according to Fraser, rebuilt Delhi from the ground,

[a] Terry thinks this city, situated in the heart of the empire, was called Delhi, or, as he writes it, Dellee, from a word in the Indostan language signifying a heart: Dill is the Indian word for heart. It should more properly be written DEHLY.

and

and called the new city Jehaunabad, after his own name. He at the ſame time conſtructed a palace not leſs diſtinguiſhed for its ſpacious and ſplendid apartments, calculated for every purpoſe of ſtate and luxury, than for the extent and beauty of the gardens with which it was adorned, where every odorous plant and beautiful flower of Aſia at once feaſted the eye with delight, and filled the air with fragrance; where fountains of the pureſt water perpetually flowed; and where vaſt artificial caverns ſheltered the fainting fugitive from the ſevere fervours of an eaſtern noon.

To enter into a minute detail of all the curioſities contained in this new city, and this extraordinary palace, which was particularly famous for the throne erected by the ſame prince, in the form of a peacock, with its tail expanded, and entirely compoſed of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and ſaphires, and of all the vaſt treaſures amaſſed in this capital by that oſtentatious monarch, as related by Bernier, Thevenot, and Tavernier, would be to ſwell theſe prefatory pages to a magnitude diſproportioned to the body of the hiſtory itſelf. Reſerving, therefore, the remaining hiſtory of this famed metropolis for theſe more recent periods to which it properly belongs, I ſhall conclude this account of

its

its ancient grandeur, by obſerving in general, that from the death of Shaw Jehaun, till the year thirty-eight of the preſent century, Delhi continued to flouriſh in increaſed conſequence and ſplendour as the capital of Hindoſtan. In that year, ſo fatal to the towering majeſty of the Mogul monarchs in India, a barbarian more deeply ſtained with blood than even Timur himſelf, whoſe native ferocity of ſoul was aggravated and inflamed by the ſtings of inſatiable avarice, entered the richeſt metropolis in the world; once more devoted its hapleſs inhabitants to unreſtrained maſſacre; and plundered its ſumptuous palace of the accumulated wealth of ages. According to Fraſer's calculation, the invaſion of Nadir coſt Hindoſtan 100 millions of pounds ſterling, and 200,000 lives. The ſeveral conquerors of this ill-fated city ſeem to have advanced progreſſively in the ſcale of horrible enormity. A dæmon of cruelty yet remains to be noticed, whoſe unprecedented barbarities make humanity ſhudder, and whoſe outrages extended to the grave itſelf. Ahmed Abdollah, who upon the death of Nadir had erected into an independant monarchy the provinces bordering upon Perſia on the one hand, and upon Hindoſtan on the other, in the year 1756 marched into Delhi, which he gave up for three days to

be pillaged by his ſoldiers, who in levying their contributions practiſed every ſpecies of barbarity upon the wretched inhabitants, and in their eager ſearch for concealed treaſures ſerupled not to violate even the ſepulchres of the dead. Ahmed is ſuppoſed, on his firſt viſit, to have carried away more riches, except in jewels, than Nadir himſelf; but, unſatiated with this grand booty, he returned to Hindoſtan no leſs than ſix different times during the ſhort reign of Allum Geer. His ſixth and laſt viſit was in 1759, and 1760, when Delhi was again plundered, and that magnificent city, which for 500 years, with little intermiſſion, had flouriſhed as the capital of Hindoſtan, and during the reign of Aurungzeb was ſuppoſed to contain near two million of inhabitants, was totally ruined, and almoſt depopulated.

We come now, in the words of Milton, whoſe geography was as accurate as his poetry was ſublime,

> To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul,

of which celebrated capitals, our account, from the extent of the preceding hiſtorical retroſpect, muſt of neceſſity be compreſſed within the narroweſt poſſible limits conſiſtent with the profeſſed deſign in giving that account.

LAHORE,

LAHORE, or rather LAHOOR, is the capital of a large province to the north-weſt of Delhi, called by the natives Panjab; from PANJ, five, and AB, water, becauſe watered by the five branches of the Indus. Lahore is marked on the new map as ſituated in the 31ſt degree of north latitude; and it ſtands on the banks of the Rauvee, the ancient Hydraotes. It is a city of ſuch great antiquity, that if it be not in reality the Bucephala of Alexander, as, according to our former remark, has been ſuppoſed, it will be extremely difficult to fix for certainty upon its founder; for the Ayeen Akbery is ſilent on the ſubject.

Lahore, lying on the direct road that leads into the heart of Hindoſtan, has ever been haraſſed, both in ancient and modern æras, by the armies of contending princes, and has experienced every viciſſitude to which the alternate triumph and defeat of the ſovereign can ſubject a capital. From the time of Alexander to the preſent day Panjab has been more ſtained with blood than any other province of the empire: and the frequent battles that have been fought within its territory, have probably contributed to keep alive that ardour of fortitude for which its rajas, and the ſubjects under their government, have been ever diſtinguiſhed. They

oppoſed

opposed with vigour the progress of the Macedonian invader. The generals of Valid were prevented, principally by the valour of those frontier warriors, from penetrating beyond Multan. It has been asserted, indeed, that the army of Valid, under Mohammed Casim, subjugated a considerable part of Hindostan; and it would appear so from Erpenius's version of Al Makin, where he says, "Mohammed Indiam occupavit," but the contrary is evident, from an historical note which the late very learned editor of the Annals of Abulfeda has added, and which both assigns the cause, and records the extent of that invasion [*]. Jeipal, the raja of Lahore, during the repeated incursions of Subuctagi, and his son Mahmud, exhibited the most heroic proofs of bravery in the defence of his hereditary domain, which extended from Cashmire to Multan; and great indeed must have been the wealth he possessed, since when, at length, after three desperate efforts, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, around his neck alone were found suspended sixteen strings of jewels, each of which was valued at 180,000 rupees, and the whole at 320,000 pounds sterling. This sum,

[*] See Abulfedæ Annales Muslemicæ, Arabice et Latine, per J. J. Reisk, tom. i. p. 427. Hafniæ, 1789: and Hist. Saracen. Elmacini. edit. Erpen. p. 84. Lugd. Bat. 1625.

however,

however, is trifling, compared with that which Mirkhond ſays the ſultan of Gazna, in his expedition againſt Jeipal, or Bal, as he calls him, and in a ſecond againſt his ſon Andbal (Feriſhta's Annindpal[u]), carried out of India. He ſtates it at ſeven millions of coin in gold; ſeven hundred maunds[x] of gold in ingots, together with an ineſtimable quantity of pearls and precious ſtones. Jeipal, when at length liberated, ſtung with the anguiſh ariſing from his late defeat and captivity, and partly impelled by thoſe feelings, and partly in obedience to a cuſtom then prevalent among the Hindoos, which forbad a raja who had been twice vanquiſhed by the Muſſulmen longer to hold the reins of government, reſigned the throne to his ſon. He then ordered a funeral pile to be prepared and kindled, and leaping into the flames, died as heroically as he had lived.

Not to anticipate farther the events more largely and more connectedly recorded in the enſuing hiſtory, it will be ſufficient to remark, in this place, that Lahore continued to flouriſh as a great, populous, and wealthy capital under

u Feriſhta, vol. i. p. 41. Mirkhond apud Texeira, p. 280.

x The maund is a weight which varies in different parts of India. At Bengal it is equal to ſeventy four pounds, and two-thirds; at Surat to thirty-ſeven pounds and a half; at Madras to twenty-five. The maund in Perſia is conſiderably leſs.

many of the succeeding Mohammedan usurpers of India, and in particular under the sultans Cosro, the first and second of that name, and the last of the house of Gazna, who, being driven from their former capital by Mahomed of Gaur, made Lahore the metropolis of their remaining empire. It was for some time the imperial city of Cuttub, who, afterwards extending his conquest eastward, found it necessary to remove the seat of his empire to the more central city of Delhi. Deserted by royalty, Lahore lost not its splendour and importance: these were supported by the vast commerce which about that period it enjoyed above all the cities of Hindostan: The period, however, of its proudest distinction, as a commercial city, seems to have been that in which the traffic at present carried on by the European settlements upon the coasts of India, passed in caravans through the inland provinces of Asia; when Lahore, as well as Cabul, was crowded with merchants from all nations; and her bazars were furnished with the richest commodities, both of the eastern and European world. To Lahore, as to a general store-house, were brought the costly silks of Persia, and the precious gums and drugs of Arabia, to be exchanged for the gems of India, and the rich manufactures of China.

To its royal honours and diſtinction Lahore was reſtored by Homaion, who, both previouſly to the uſurpation of Sheer, and during the period of his exile from the throne, made this city his principal reſidence. He erected in it many ſtately edifices, and particularly the palace, which was uncommonly lofty, and which, according to Mr. Finch, who viſited it in 1609, (nearly ſixty years before Thevenot, whoſe deſcription is more generally referred to), had twelve noble gates; nine opening towards the land-ſide, and three towards the river. The ſame author affirms, that the city was twenty-four coſe in circumference, and, including the ſuburbs, ſix coſe in length; which, taking the coſe at a mile and three quarters, is not greatly diſſimilar from Thevenot's account of its extent in the time of Homaion: for he ſtates that extent at three leagues; although at the period of his own viſit it was diminiſhed to one league. What Homaion had thus ſplendidly begun, Jehaun Geer, who preferred this ſituation to his father's ſumptuous palace at Agra, compleated in the noble ſtyle of the deſigner. The Engliſh traveller mentioned above reſided here while thoſe works, which were to make Lahore "the fineſt city of Aſia", were advancing to perfection. He mentions the grand foſſe at that time caſting up

round

round the whole circumference, and the ſtrong wall about to be erected, which later travellers ſay was of free-ſtone, flanked with towers, and guarded by numerous artillery. Jehaun Geer indeed could, better than the exiled Humaion, afford to perfect magnificent projects; for at his coming to the throne he found a treaſury, as will appear hereafter from Mandeſlo's correct account, ſo full, or rather ſo overflowing with every ſpecies of wealth, accumulated during Acbar's long reign of fifty years, as to appear inexhauſtible. Mr. Finch's account of the palace itſelf is too remarkable and particular to be omitted; and I ſhall therefore extract it as a ſpecimen of that traveller's agreeable, ſpirited, and, conſidering the period when it was penned, I may add, elegant manner of writing: "As for the rarities of the caſtle, or palace, they are by far too numerous, as well as too glorious, to be juſtly repreſented by a ſhort deſcription; the mahls, the courts, the galleries, the rooms of ſtate, are almoſt endleſs: and, to give an idea of the extravagant richneſs of the furniture of theſe, it may be ſufficient to ſay, that in the king's lodgings the very walls and ceilings are overlaid with plates of gold; and the others are as prodigally rich and ſumptuous in proportion. There are a vaſt number of ſtately

pictures hanging up and down in the galleries and public rooms, all drawn at full length. Here is the whole royal family down from Baber, that made the conquest of India, to this present Mogul. Besides these, are all the principal noblemen[a] of the present government, the Mahometan emirs and cans, and the native Indian princes that are of any great power or figure about the king. For curiosities without, the king's garden may be reckoned among the chief: here India and Europe seem to lie together on the same spot, which presents the eye with the vegetable varieties of both[b]." To this account of the fine paintings, and rich but decayed furniture, that adorned the palace of Lahore, Thevenot, and all the later travellers of the last century, bear ample testimony. M. Bernier, who was at this city in the suit of the emperor Aurengzeb, whom he attended in the capacity of physician, and who dates from this place the third letter in his expedition to Cashmire, speaks of the palace as a high and magnificent structure, but hastening rapidly to ruin,

[a] Sir Thomas Roe, who went ambassador to India in 1615, only six years after Mr. Finch, relates some curious anecdotes, of which I shall take notice in their proper place, of Jehaun Geer's enthusiastic fondness for the art of painting. See Sir T. Roe's Journal, in Churchill's voluminous Collection, vol. i. p. 64.

[b] Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 88.

as well as the city itſelf, from the long abſence of the court. Exceſſive torrents of rain, he obſerves, had previouſly fallen, and had greatly contributed towards the demolition of the public buildings, and forſaken palaces of the nobility; that ſtill, however, five or ſix conſiderable ſtreets remained, of which two or three were above a league in length; but that the Rauvee, which from its great rapidity, and occaſional overflowing, had often cauſed great devaſtation, had changed its bed, and, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants, at that time flowed above a quarter of a league from the city. A ſimilar misfortune has befallen many of the ancient cities of Hindoſtan; for we are informed that Gour, once the capital of Bengal, which was in times paſt watered by the Ganges, ſtands now at the diſtance of five miles from the bed of that river; and that ſome parts of its extenſive ruins, formerly waſhed by its ſtream, are at preſent ſituated twelve miles [c] from it. The confluence of the Ganges and the Sone, which in remote periods took place at Patna, now falls at Moneah, twenty-two miles above that city. The Burrampooter has ſtill more conſiderably varied its courſe; and the very river of which the Rauvee is only a branch, is ſaid by Strabo, on

c Major Rennel.

the authority of Ariſtobulus, in the earlieſt ages of antiquity to have deviated many leagues from its uſual channel, by that means leaving many populous cities deſtitute of the neceſſary bleſſing of its waters, and turning a vaſt tract of cultivated country *into a barren and ſandy deſart.*

Agra, the Agara of Ptolemy, though that city is by no means placed on his map in a degree of latitude correſponding with Agra on the modern map, which is marked in 27° 15′, owed its importance, and indeed its exiſtence as a capital, to the munificence of Acbar. That emperor, pleaſed with its ſituation on the bank of the Jumna, and probably incited by its proximity to his new conqueſts in the Deccan, from an inconſiderable fortified town, raiſed Agra to an eminence in ſplendour, beauty, and renown, which no city in India, not even Delhi itſelf, had ever before enjoyed. This monarch had far advanced towards the completion *of the proud ſtructures of Fettipore, of which the* remaining ruins prove the original grandeur, when on a ſudden he relinquiſhed them, to execute the more extenſive projects at Agra. Indeed his projects of Acbar were all vaſt and comprehenſive, like the mind that formed them. In the important plans for which peace gave leiſure, as well as in the more dazzling ſcenes of martial

glory,

glory, his genius and his abilities ſeemed to ſoar alike ſuperior to the reſt of mankind.

Acbar having determined to make Agra an imperial reſidence, ordered the old wall of earth, with which the city had been incloſed by the Patan monarchs, to be deſtroyed, and rebuilt with hewn ſtone, brought from the quarries of Fettipore. This undertaking, however conſiderable, was finiſhed with no great difficulty, and within no very protracted period. But to re-build Agra and its caſtle in a manner worthy of the deſigner, and calculated to render it the metropolis of the greateſt empire in Aſia, required the unwearied exertions of one of the greateſt monarchs whom Aſia had ever beheld. For the full completion of his magnificent plan, Acbar, by the promiſe of ample rewards, collected together, from every quarter of his dominions, the moſt ſkilful architects, the moſt celebrated artiſts in every branch both of external ornament and domeſtic decoration: and ſome judgment may be formed of the prodigious labour and expence required to perfect the whole undertaking, when the reader is acquainted that the palace alone took up twelve years in finiſhing, kept conſtantly employed, during that period, above a thouſand labourers, and coſt nearly three millions of rupees. The caſtle

itself, the largest ever erected in India, was built in the form of a crescent, along the banks of the Jumna, which becomes at this place, in its progress to the Ganges, a very considerable river: its lofty walls were composed of stones of an enormous size, hard as marble, and of a reddish colour, resembling jasper, which at a distance in the rays of the sun gave it a shining and beautiful appearance. It was four miles in extent, and it consisted of three courts, adorned with many stately porticoes, galleries, and turrets, all richly painted and gilded, and some even overlaid with plates of gold. The first court, built round with arches, that gave a perpetual shade, so desirable amidst the heats of a burning climate, was intended for the imperial guard; the second, for the great omrahs and ministers of state, who had there their several apartments for the transaction of the public business; and the third court, within which was contained the seraglio, consisted entirely of the stately apartments of the emperor himself, hung round with the richest silks of Persia, and glittering with a profusion of Indian wealth. Behind these were the royal gardens, laid out in the most exquisite taste, and decorated with all that could gratify the eye, regale the ear, or satiate the most luxurious palate; the loveliest

shade,

ſhade, the deepeſt verdure; grottos of the moſt refreſhing coolneſs, fruits of the moſt delicious flavour; caſcades that never ceaſed to murmur, and muſic that never failed to delight. In the front of the caſtle, towards the river, a large area was left for the exerciſe of the royal elephants, and the batttles of wild beaſts, in which the Indian emperors uſed to take great delight; and, in a ſquare of vaſt extent, that ſeparated the palace from the city, a numerous army conſtantly encamped, whoſe ſhining armour and gorgeous enſigns diffuſed a glory round them, and added greatly to the ſplendour of the ſcene.

But if this palace was thus externally grand, what a ſplendid ſcene muſt its interior parts have diſplayed? Mandeſlo, who viſited Agra in 1638, and ſaw that city in the meridian of its glory, after informing us that the palace was altogether the grandeſt object he had ever beheld; that it was ſurrounded with a wall of free-ſtone, and a broad ditch, with a draw-bridge at each of its gates, adds [d], that at the farther end of the third court you ſaw a row of ſilver pillars under a piazza, and beyond this court was the preſence-chamber; that this more ſpacious apartment was adorned with a row of golden pillars of a ſmaller

d See Mandeſlo's Travels, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 118.

ſize,

ſize, and within the baluſtrade was the royal throne of maſſy gold, almoſt incruſted over with diamonds, pearls, and other precious ſtones; that above this throne was a gallery, where the Mogul appeared every day at a certain time, to hear and redreſs the complaints of his ſubjects; and that no perſons whoſoever, beſides the king's ſons, were admitted behind thoſe golden pillars. He mentions likewiſe an apartment in the caſtle, very remarkable for its tower, which was covered with maſſy gold, and for the treaſure which it contained, having eight large vaults filled with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, the value of which was ineſtimable. As I have ever eſteemed the accounts given us of the internal parts of India by Bernier and Thevenot to be far more accurate and authentic than thoſe by Tavernier, who travelled thither merely in a mercantile capacity, and poſſeſſed neither the leiſure nor the opportunity which the others enjoyed, to examine objects with attention, ſo I have in this work more generally followed the relations of the former than the latter of thoſe travellers. On all ſubjects, however, that relate to commerce, and the ſplendour and riches of the eaſtern courts, which he admired ſo much, and of which as a merchant in gold and jewels he knew ſo accurately to calculate the value,

lue,

lue, he undoubtedly deserves the preference of citation. Tavernier *, who visited Agra in the decline of its glory near the end of the last century, in the absence of the court at Jehaunabad, obtained permission from the commanding Omra to visit, in company with a Dutch merchant, the inside of that splendid palace; and, among other proofs of its magnificence, makes particular mention of a gallery, the arch of which it was Shah Jehaun's intention to have overlaid with silver, and he had engaged an ingenious Frenchman to undertake the work, but the artist being soon after poisoned, the design was dropt. He describes the ceiling of that gallery as adorned with branched work of gold and azure, and hung below with rich tapestry. But there was also another most sumptuous gallery seen by Tavernier, which fronted the river; and which the same monarch had purposed to cover entirely over with a kind of lettice-work of emeralds and rubies, that should have represented to the life "grapes when they are green, and when they begin to grow red. But this design, which made such a noise in the world, and required more riches than all the world could afford to perfect, still remains unfinished, there being only three stocks of a vine

* Tavernier's Indian Travels, book i. chap. 7.

in gold, with their leaves, as the reſt ought to have been, enamelled according to their natural colours, with emeralds, rubies, and other precious ſtones, wrought into the faſhion of grapes." This ſplendid idea of Jehaun was not without parallel amidſt the magnificence of eaſtern courts; for we are told by Herodotus, that Pithius, the wealthy Bythinian, made Darius a preſent of a plane-tree and a vine of gold. This vine, according to Athenæus[f], was adorned with jewels hanging in cluſters, in form and colour reſembling grapes, and ſpread like a rich canopy over the golden bed of that monarch. But, without going to Perſia, we find in Curtius[g], amidſt that luxuriant deſcription, in his eighth book, of the ſtate and pageantry of an Indian monarch, particular mention made of the golden vines that twined round thoſe ornamented columns of the ſame metal which ſupported his palace, amidſt whoſe branches artificial birds of ſilver, in imitation of thoſe moſt eſteemed in India, were diſpoſed with the niceſt art by the curious deſigner. But to return from the *palace* to the *city* of Agra.

In a line with the palace, along the banks of the ſame river, were ranged the magnificent

[f] See Herodot. lib. vii. and alſo Athenæus, lib. xii.
[g] Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 9.

palaces

palaces of the princes and great rajas, who vied with each other in adorning the new metropolis; the majestic edifices of which met the delighted eye, intersected with lofty trees, wide canals, and beautiful gardens. Determined to make it the wonder and envy of the east, and to bury both its former name and obscurity in equal oblivion, the sultan gave his own name to the rising capital, and called it Acbar-abad, while he enriched it with the noblest monuments of regal munificence that human ingenuity could plan, or human industry could execute. That nothing might be wanting to render it useful for every purpose both of religion and commerce, Acbar erected in it many spacious caravanseras, sumptuous bazars, and innumerable mosques, some remarkable for the elegance, and others for the grandeur of their structure: he likewise invited foreigners from all nations to come and settle there, built them factories, permitted them the free use of their several religions, and indulged them in many immunities. In particular, knowing the great consequence of the Portugueze at that period in the commercial world, he endeavoured to establish a connection with that enterprizing nation, solicited the court of Portugal that missioners might be sent to instruct his subjects in the principles of Christianity,

anity, and permitted the Jeſuits to erect a church, and found a college in his new city, which he endowed with a penſion from the royal treaſury. By theſe liberal and politic exertions, Agra, or Acbar-abad, from being a country town of no great note, ſoon became the moſt flouriſhing city in his dominions, and the thronged reſort of Perſian, Arabian, and Chineſe merchants, beſides thoſe from the European ſettlements, who flocked in multitudes to its mart.

Agra, during the long reign of Acbar and his ſon Jehaungeer, flouriſhed as the firſt city for magnificence and commerce in India. Shah Jehaun, by rebuilding Delhi, and by removing the imperial inſignia, the treaſures and the jewels accumulated by his anceſtors, to his new and ſplendid palace in that capital, gave the fatal blow to its conſequence as an imperial city. Aurengzeb lived in the field of battle, and made it his buſineſs rather to extend the bounds, than to beautify and aggrandize the capitals, of his empire. Agra, deſerted by its monarchs, languiſhed under the deprivation of the royal ſmile, and rapidly ſunk into decay; at this day, however, it exhibits more magnificent monuments of former ſplendour than any city of Hindoſtan; and when time ſhall have entirely levelled thoſe monuments with the duſt, AGRA ſhall ſurvive the wreck, and flouriſh for ever in the hiſtoric page of its immortal founder.

CHAP. III.

Of the Divisions of Hindostan according to the Hindoos themselves, according to Persian and Arabian Geographers, and according to the most esteemed Accounts of the Europeans.

AFTER having traced the great outlines of the ancient geography of India according to Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny; and having taken a view of the magnificence which distinguished the successive capitals of that ancient empire, as well in remote as in more recent periods, it remains for us to pursue the tract originally marked out for the conduct of this introductory Dissertation, and to consider India, or rather Hindostan, according to the divisions of the Orientals themselves, and of the best modern geographers.

The most accurate accounts of the divisions and subdivisions of this extensive territory, the history of its most early periods and governing princes, are only to be collected from the writings of the Indians themselves, and of those learned foreigners who have successively resided

among

among them. Although the ſacred language, which is the general depoſit of their hiſtory and theology, has, till very lately, remained an inſcrutable myſtery; much credit is ſtill due to the Mohammedan literati, for their efforts in various ages to inveſtigate that obſcure ſubject. Mr. Fraſer's catalogue of oriental manuſcripts, added to his hiſtory of Nadir Shah, affords ſome ſtriking inſtances of that laudable curioſity; and it is highly to the honour of their Perſian and Tartarian conquerors, that ſuch a general ſpirit of enquiry was encouraged among them by conſiderable rewards, and that moſt of the hiſtorical and geographical tracts alluded to were written either at the command or by the pen of their monarchs. Many convincing proofs of this aſſertion might be adduced, but in particular the TARIKH E PADSHAHAN HIND, or Hiſtory of the Sovereigns of Hind; the VAKEAT BABERI, or Commentaries of Sultan Baber; and the VAKEAT JEHANGEERY; of which the two laſt were written by thoſe emperors themſelves. But their moſt illuſtrious exertion, in this reſpect, is the AYEEN AKBERY, or Mirror of Acbar, ſo often adverted to in theſe pages, which was compiled at that monarch's expreſs command, and contains an account of the ſeveral provinces

and

and cities of Hindoſtan, its civil and religious eſtabliſhments, and the laws and religious rites of the Bramins. The principal perſon employed in carrying on this great and uſeful work was Abul Fazil, prime vizier of the Mogul, the moſt elegant hiſtorian of his age, whoſe writings were ſo much admired throughout the eaſt, and ſo remarkable for energy and animation, that it was ſaid of them, that the monarchs of Aſia were more afraid of the pen of the ſecretary than of the ſword of the ſultan, formidable as that ſword was. The Ayeen Akbery is, therefore, the rich mine whence moſt of our future information muſt be derived. But before I enter on the modern part of the Indian geography, it is neceſſary that the word HINDOSTAN itſelf ſhould be explained. Hindoſtan then is a corruption of the term Hinduſtan; the domeſtic appellation of India, compounded of Hindu, and ſtan, or iſtan, a region. Thus Perſia is called in the oriental language Farſiſtan; Suſiana, Chuz-iſtan; and part of Tartary, Mogul-ſtan. Mr. Dow has upon this word ſtarted a ſingular, and, as it turns out, an unfounded aſſertion. Indoo, or Hindoo, he ſays, in Sanſcreet, ſignifies the moon; and that from this luminary and the ſun the Indian rajas are fond of deducing their deſcent: he there-

fore he contends, in opposition both to ancient and modern geographers, that the great river Indus takes its name from the people, and not the people from the river. Mr. Halhed, however, on the contrary, asserts that Hindostan is a word entirely of Persian origin, equally unknown to the ancient and modern Sanscreet; that the terms universally used for Hindostan in the Sanscreet language are BHERTEKHUND, a word derived from BHERRUT, one of the first Indian rajas, whose name was adopted for that of the kingdom, and KHUND, a continent, or wide tract of land, and JUMBOODEEP, compounded of JUMBOO, a jackal, an animal remarkably abounding in this country; and DEEP, any large portion of land surrounded by water; and that it is only since the æra of the Tartar government that they have assumed the name of Hindoo[a], to distinguish them from their conquerors, the Mussulmen[b]. The word Gentoo, he adds, is an appellation equally unknown and inapplicable to the natives, either as a tribe of Brama, or collectively as a nation, being derived from Gent, or Gentoo, which signifies

a See Mr. Halhed's Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 22. quarto; and Dow, vol. i. p. 32.

b Mr. Wilkins likewise affirms, that the terms Hindoo and Hindostan are not to be found in the Sanscreet Dictionary.

animal

animal in general; and, in its more confined sense, mankind. Possibly the Portugueze, on their first arrival in India, hearing the word frequently in their mouths, as applied to mankind in general, might adopt it for the domestic appellation of the Indians themselves: perhaps also their bigotry might force from the word Gentoo a fanciful allusion to Gentile, or Pagan. Mr. Halhed, on the subject of the Sanscreet language, never stands in need of collateral evidence to support his assertions; otherwise Sir W. Jones's additional authority [c] might here be cited, who says the natives call Hindostan Bharata, from "Bharat, one of two brothers, whose father had the dominion of the whole earth," and suppose this domain of Bharat to be in the centre of the Jumboodeep, or JAMBUDWIPA, as he writes it; deriving the word from Jambu, a delicate kind of Indian fruit, called by the Europeans rose-apple. Hence arises the vain appellation of MEDHYAMA, or central, by which they likewise distinguish their happy country.

HINDOSTAN—formerly the empire of the great Mogul; for it would be insulting departed majesty to retain that mode of expression at this day, when it is a fact notorious to all Asia, that

c Asiatic Researches, p. 419.

the city of Delhi, and a ſmall territory round it, conſtitute in India the whole of the preſent dominions of the houſe of Timur—HINDOSTAN is bounded on the north by the mountains of Tartary and Tibet: on the weſt it is ſeparated from Perſia and the Uzbek Tartary by deſarts, and by thoſe mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamiſus: on the ſouth it is confined by the countries of the Deccan, the peninſula not being properly a part of it; and on the eaſt it has for its limits the kingdoms of Tipra, Aſſam, and Arracan, ſituated on the peninſula beyond the Ganges.

It will be obſerved, in drawing theſe lines of limitation, that neither the Ganges or Indus are mentioned, as in the ancient geography, the former as the eaſtern, nor the latter as the weſtern termination of this country; for ſuch a mode of diviſion would deprive Hindoſtan of many extenſive and valuable tracts that lie on the weſtern banks of the Indus, and along the eaſtern borders of the Ganges. Ptolemy, who makes Arachoſia, Gedroſia, together with the Parapamiſadæ, and not the Indus, the weſtern boundary of India, if he had been appriſed of the courſe of the Burrampooter, would doubtleſs have fixed upon that ſtream, and not upon the Ganges for its eaſtern limit. In our

own

own ignorance of the geography of India, till of very late years, we may find many apologies for the defective accounts of the ancient writers on that subject; and, instead of harshly censuring their venial errors, we ought rather to contemplate their laborious investigations in that infant state of the science with reverence and with admiration. Sir William Jones makes the large province of Sind to comprehend both Mocran, the ancient Gedrosia, and Multan, which, he observes, have been considered as provinces of Persia; while, on the other hand, we know that both Cabul and Zablestan, in the prosperous state of the Indian empire, were generally considered as forming a part of that empire, and were often governed by the viceroys of the Mogul. In fact, the title to possession of those frontier provinces fluctuated with the vicissitudes of both empires; a circumstance which will account for the variations of modern geographers: and, with respect to the apparent inaccuracies of the ancients, the following pertinent remark of the last mentioned author will serve at once as a vindication, and as an elucidation of their writings: "It is usual with the Asiatics to give the same name to the countries which lie on both sides of any considerable river: thus, the province of Sind is divided by the In-

dus, Charazm by the Oxus, Paleſtine by the Jordan, Egypt by the Nile, and the eaſtern region of India by the Ganges." The peninſula of India, underſtood in its greateſt extent, is that tract of country ſituated to the ſouth of a line drawn nearly from Baroach on the weſtern, to Balaſore on the eaſtern ſhore, and is ſometimes denominated the Deccan, although in its proper and limited ſenſe that title can only be given to certain diſtinct provinces of the peninſula. It is bounded on the north by that imaginary line, and on the three other ſides it is embraced by the ocean,

In the account given above of the modern diviſions of Hindoſtan, I have taken Mr. Orme and Mr. Rennel for my principal guides; the former, an hiſtorian of equal elegance and authenticity, the latter, without a rival, ſince the death of D'Anville, in the path of Indian geography. Sir William Jones and the Ayeen Akbery will be our moſt certain conductors through the remainder of this treatiſe, which, if it ſhould appear extended to too great a length, I hope that the candour of the reader will be exerted in my favour, when he reflects that I am attempting to convey ideas of the geography of an empire of which ſeveral provinces are or have been ſo many potent kingdoms; an

empire

empire which the ancients confidered as the third part of the habitable earth, and which, in fact, conftitutes no inconfiderable portion of the vaft continent of Afia. To the barren fubject of its geography, however, I have not wholly confined my obfervations, and much lefs to minute and uninterefting particulars: but have endeavoured to difplay its moft prominent features, and to exhibit a general profpect of the extent and fplendour of its ancient and celebrated capitals. For oriental words are not eafily accommodated to an European ear; and many readers are apt to be difpleafed with the frequent return of harfh and uncouth names of rivers, cities, and provinces, the very found of which creates difguft. To this confideration I fhall ever pay a proper attention, but truft that I fhall never facrifice correctnefs to a fear of difgufting, nor perfpicuity to a vain polifh of language.

In a future chapter, concerning the literature of the Hindoos, their ftrange eccentric conceptions relative to the geography of the globe, as well as of their own country, will come under our more particular review. It will, therefore, be fufficient in this place to remark, that the natives themfelves fuppofe Jumboodeep to be

one of the seven DEEPS or islands, surrounded by as many oceans, that compose the terrestrial globe. Jumboodeep has nine grand divisions, which are enumerated in the Ayeen Akbery [e], and illustrated in a curious geographical map. In the centre of this deep, they say, stands a golden mountain of a cylindrical form, which descends as far beneath as it rises above the surface of the earth. The summit of this mountain, whose altitude is 84,000 yojans, but, according to others, only 16,000 yojans, they denominate Sommeir; and on that summit, and on its sides, they believe are the different degrees of paradise. In a direct line from the lofty golden mountain of Sommeir, at the extremity of the four quarters of the earth, their romantic imaginations have placed four cities, encompassed with walls built of bricks of gold, viz. Jumkote, Lanka, Siddahpore, and Roomuck. Our present business is with that division only which extends from Lanka [f] in the south, to the northern range of mountains passing between it and Sommeir, which in the

e Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 23. Code of Gentoo Laws, p 45. quarto edit.

f "Lanka is not the island of Ceyloan, as is generally supposed, but a place determined by the intersection of the equator and the meridian of Delhi; which answers to the southern extremity of the Maldivy islands." Ayeen Akbery, vol. iii. p. 36.

language

language of the country are called Heemachel, Heemakote, and Nekh, and of which, in Mr. Burrow's opinion, the firſt are the RHYMMICIS mountains of Ptolemy; the ſecond the IMAUS and the EMODI mountains; and the third is the DEENIS of Ptolemy. This tract is Mr. Halhed's Bhertekhund, or, as I ſhall hereafter, according to Mr. Rennel's and Sir W. Jones's orthography, take the liberty of writing the word, BHARATA.

BHARATA, the firſt diviſion of Jumboodeep, is ſaid in the Aſiatic Reſearches (page 419), to have for its northern boundary the mountains of Himalaya, that is, I preſume, of Heemachel before mentioned, taken in an extended ſenſe; but in either appellative the claſſic term of IMAUS may be plainly traced. The mountains of Vindhya, called alſo Vindian by the Greeks, and the Sindhu, or Indus, according to the Indian geographers, form its limit on the weſt. The great river Saravatya, or river of Ava, waſhes Bharata on the ſouth-eaſt; and on the ſouth it is bounded by the ocean, and by the great iſland of Sinhala, or lion-like men. Between Lanka and Heemachel the Hindoos place ſeven ranges of mountains, extending from eaſt to weſt; but my readers will readily excuſe the inſertion of their names, as well as thoſe of the

the ſubdiviſions of Jumboodeep, which being unaccompanied with deſcriptive accounts, could only exhibit a tedious catalogue of names that would afford little pleaſure to his eye, little muſic to his ear, and leſs improvement to his underſtanding.

The Perſian and Arabian geographers divide the great Indian empire into two parts, which they call HIND and SIND. "By the country of Hind in its ſtricteſt ſenſe they mean the diſtricts on both ſides of the Ganges, and by Sind the country that lies on each ſide of the Sindab, eſpecially where it diſcharges itſelf into the ocean. Sind, including Mocran and Multan, is bounded on the ſouth by the Indian ſea, which embraces it in the form of a bow: it has Hind on the eaſt, and on the weſt Kerman, with part of Sejeſtan, which alſo bounds it on the north; but if, with ſome geographers, we make it compriſe even Zableſtan and Cabul, its northern limits will extend as far as Caſhmire, that delightful and extraordinary valley, celebrated over all Aſia for the ſingular beauty of its inhabitants, the ſerenity of its air, and the abundance of its delicious fruits: if, again, we include Caſhmire alſo in this diviſion of India, it will reach as far northward as Tibet or Tobat, the country of the fineſt muſk,

which

which has China on the east, and oriental Tartary on the west and north[g]." Texeira[h] says, the natives inhabiting the banks of the Sinde are called, from its water, AB-IND; and that the Persians and Arabians denominate the tract which it washes in the lower part of its course the kingdom of Diul.

HIND, according to Sir W. Jones, is divided into three parts; GUZURAT, including most of the southern provinces, and among them the city and territory of Sumnat, the despoiling of whose august and venerable pagoda, filled with treasures equally sacred and inestimable, by the desolating tyrant Mahmud, in the eleventh century, will hereafter excite in us the strongest emotions of indignation and horror. MALABAR, or the country of the Malais, which includes what the Arabians call Beladel-fulful, or the land of pepper, and is terminated on the south by the cape of Comron, famous for producing the best aloe-wood, a favourite perfume of the Asiatics: to the south-west of this promontory are the numerous islands which we call Maldives, and the Arabians Rabihat, and a little to the south-east lies the famous Serandib, or Seilan, which produces so many pre-

[g] Short Description of Asia, p. 8.
[h] Texeira's Hist. of Persia, p. 90.

cious

cious perfumes, jewels, and ſpices. Texeira writes the name of this great iſland Selandive[i], that is, the iſland of Seilán, obſerving that Dive in the language of the country ſignifies an iſland, as the Male-dive, or iſlands of Male; Angedive, the five iſlands; while the great commercial town of Diu is called, by way of eminence Dive, or Div, THE ISLAND. The Sanſcreet name of Seilán, according to a curious note and remark which I obſerve added to page 36 of the 3d vol. of the Ayeen Akbery, is TAPOBON, a word reſembling Taprobane, and implying the wilderneſs of prayer. From what was before remarked in the ancient geography concerning the Malli, and the mountainous country of Malleam, in this neighbourhood, we may, I think, without any great violence on eaſtern language, trace to them the name of this diſtrict. BAR, as an adjunct, Mr. Richardſon obſerves[k], denotes A COUNTRY, and inſtances Tranquebar and Malabar: bar alſo ſignifies elevated; in either ſenſe the word is applicable. I have explained the word Malabar, but had omitted before to mention the derivation of Coromandel, which Mr. Rennel derives from Soramandelum, corruptly called Coromandel. The Soræ were a nation inhabiting that coaſt, who are mentioned by Ptolemy; and

[i] Texiera, p. 94. [k] Mr. Richardſon's Diſſertation, p. 12.

their

their capital of Arcoti, though ſtrangely thruſt out of its proper place in his map, is the Arcot of the moderns.

The third diviſion of Hind is called MABER, or the paſſage, by the Arabians, and extends from the gulph of Bengal on both ſides of the Ganges, as far northward as the ſtraits of Kupele. The ſtraits of Kupele, through which the Ganges diſcharges the volume of its waters, form a part of the chain of the Sewalic mountains that riſe immediately north of the level plain of Hindoſtan; while far above them, conſiderably more northward, ſoar the ſnowy precipices of Caucaſus. Caucaſus, in the language of oriental poetry, is the tremendous Kaf, or Caph, which Mr. Richardſon [l] tranſlates rock, or promontory, and which in the romances of the eaſt is ſuppoſed to form a part of that fabulous mountain which like a vaſt ring ſurrounds the earth; where the monſter Simorg [m],

l Mr. Richardſon, p. 170.

m "The man who is unacquainted with the fairies, dragons, and enchanters, ſo frequently introduced in the Poems of Firduſi; who knows nothing of the griffin Simorg, the ſpeaking horſe of Roſtam, the dark ſea which ſurrounds the world, the *mountain of Kaf, or the battle of the twelve heroes*, can no more pretend to read the fineſt writings of Perſia, than he could underſtand the odes of Pindar, if he had never heard of the Trojan war, the groves of Elyſium, the voyage of the Argonauts, or the ſeveral attributes of the heathen deities." Preface to Nadir Shah.

a griffin

a griffin of immeaſurable magnitude, has for unknown ages fixed her abode, and where the ſhadowy beings of Perſian mythology, dives, dragons, and dæmons, of every denomination, perpetually wage their horrible conflicts.

I ſhall now proceed to give the ſubſtance of what we find in the Ayeen Akbery [n] relative to the greater and ſmaller geographical diviſions of Hindoſtan, as fixed by the emperor Acbar, in the fortieth year of his reign, that is, about the year 1595 of the Chriſtian æra; a book which Mr. Rennel obſerves [o], forms to this day an authentic regiſter of theſe and all other matters relative to that empire.

Hindoſtan was then parcelled out into twelve grand diviſions, called Soobahs, to each of which a viceroy was aſſigned, by the title of Soobahdar, corruptly written Soobah by European writers, for Soobah ſignifies province: many of theſe ſoobahs were in extent equal to large European kingdoms. The ſoobahs were again divided into circars, which Mr. Rennel would call counties; and theſe were ſubdivided into purgunnahs, which he would call hundreds. The names of the twelve Soobahs were, Allahabad, Agra, Owdh, Ajmere,

[n] Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 3.
[o] Memoir, p. 3. firſt edit.

Ahmed-

Ahmed-abad, Bahar, Bengal, Dehly, Cabul, Lahoor, Multan, and Malwa. When Acbar conquered Berar, Khandeefs, and Ahmednagur, they were formed into three Soobahs, increafing the number to fifteen. It is remarked in a note of the Memoir, that Acbar might have probably changed the boundaries of the old Soobahs, by adding or taking away certain circars, for the purpofe of rendering each province more compact, and the provincial capital more centrical to the feveral parts of it. Guzurat is not mentioned, as the reader muft notice in the above quotation; although Ahmedabad its capital is, which may probably be ufed for the province itfelf, although in another note to the fame publication we are told, that Guzurat is by fome of the Hindoos confidered as lying without the limits of Hindoftan; and we are referred for a proof of this remark to the letters of Berar Rajah. Abul Fazil expreffes his hope, as he fhall commence his defcription from the foobah of Bengal, the moft fouthern extremity of Hindoftan, and carry it to Zabuliftan, that while he is writing, not only Turan and Iran, but alfo other countries, may be added to the account.

BENGAL.

"Bengal (including Orissa) has the sea on the east, is bounded by mountains on the north and south, and on the west joins to the soobah of Bahar. It is situated in the second climate[p]. From Chittagong to Kurhee are four hundred cose difference of longitude; and from the northern range of mountains to the southern extremity of Sircar Madarun are comprehended two hundred cose of latitude." We shall be sufficiently exact, Mr. Gladwin observes, if we take the Indian cose, which varies in the several provinces at the general average of two English miles. When Orissa was added to Bengal, the additional length was computed to be forty-three cose, and the breadth twenty cose.

Without following the Ayeen Akbery through all the minuter divisions of each Soobah, I shall notice what is there remarked concerning its principal city, climate, productions, force, commerce, and revenue. The history of their several sovereigns, when separate kingdoms, will be given hereafter.

"The air of Bengal is very temperate. The periodical rains commence in April, and continue

p The ancient geographers divided the globe into seven climates only.

for

for ſomewhat more than ſix months during this ſeaſon; the low-lands are ſometimes entirely overflowed." We are informed in a note, that the frequent ſtorms of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, from the north-weſt, which precede the ſetting in of the periodical rains, contribute very much to moderate the heat; that thoſe rains more generally commence in the beginning of June; and that if they break up early in September, the weather is intenſely hot, and the inhabitants are very ſickly.

"This ſoobah abounds with rivers, the fineſt of which is the Gung, or Ganges, whoſe ſource has never been traced. The Hindoo prieſts ſay that it flows from the hair of Mahadeo." The real ſource and progreſs to the ocean, both of the Ganges and Burrampooter, as diſcovered by the moderns, will hereafter merit our more particular conſideration. "The learned among the Hindoos have compoſed volumes in praiſe of the Ganges, all parts of which are ſaid to be holy; but ſome particular places are eſteemed more ſo than others. The great people have the water of this river brought to them from vaſt diſtances, it being eſteemed neceſſary in the performance of certain religious ceremonies. The water of the Ganges has been celebrated in all ages, not only

for its ſanctity, but alſo on account of its ſweetneſs, lightneſs, and ſalubrity, and becauſe it does not become putrid, though kept for years. There is another very large river called Berhamputter, which runs from Khatai to Coach, and from thence through Bazoolah to the ſea. The ſea of Bengal, which is a bay of the ocean, goes on one ſide to Baſorah, and on the other to Kulzum of Egypt, and from thence to Perſia, where by the natives it is called the ſea of Omman, and the ſea of Perſia."

"Moſt of the rivers of Bengal have their banks cultivated with rice, of which there are a variety of ſpecies. The ſoil is ſo fertile in ſome places, that a ſingle grain of rice will yield a meaſure of two or three ſeer [q]. Some lands will produce three crops in a year. Vegetation is here ſo extremely quick, that as faſt as the water riſes the plants of rice grow above it, ſo that the ear is never immerſed. Men of experience affirm, that a ſingle ſtalk will grow ſix cubits in one night. The ſubjects pay their annual-rents in eight months, by inſtalments, themſelves bringing mohurs and rupees to the places appointed for the receipt of the revenues, it not being cuſtomary in this ſoobah for the huſbandman and

[q] The ſeer is a meaſure equal to two pounds avoirdupois.

the

the government to divide the crops. The food of the inhabitants is for the moſt part fiſh and rice. Their houſes are chiefly made of bamboos, ſome of them very expenſive and very durable. They travel chiefly by water, eſpecially in the rainy ſeaſon; and they conſtruct boats for war, burthen, and travelling. For their journies by land they make uſe of a machine called a Sook-haſens, ſupported upon the ſhoulders of men by a pole, formed of a number of ſtraight pieces of wood, joined together by iron rings. The ſides of the machines are ornamented with different metals, and over the top is thrown an arched covering, made of woollen cloth, for defence againſt the ſun and rain. In theſe machines you ſit, or lie down and ſleep, as conveniently as in a room or houſe. Some alſo ride upon elephants. Horſes are very ſcarce. In ſome parts of this ſoobah are manufactured hempen carpets, ſo beautiful that they ſeem to be made of ſilk. The inhabitants of Bengal are exceedingly fond of ſalt, which is ſcarce in ſome parts of the ſoobah. Diamonds, emeralds, pearls, agates, and cornelians, are brought from other countries to the ſea-ports of Bengal. Their flowers and fruits are fine and in plenty. The beetle-nut ſtains the lips of thoſe who eat it quite red."

Among the principal cities of Bengal are particularly noted Jennut-abad, a very ancient city, formerly called Lucknowti, and fometimes Gowr. It has a fine fort, to the eaftward of which is a large lake. If the dams break during the heavy periodical rains, the city is laid under water.—Mahmoodabad, whofe fort is furrounded by a marfh. When Shire Khan conquered this country, fome of the rajah's elephants fled into the wilds, where they have increafed in great numbers. This circar produces long pepper.—Chittagong, a large city, fituated among trees, upon the banks of the fea, and a great emporium, being the refort of Chriftian and other merchants. There are two other emporiums a mile diftant from each other, one called Satgong, and the other Hougly, with its dependencies; both of which are in the poffeffion of the Europeans. Satgong is famous for pomegranates. The foobah of Bengal now includes the five circars of ORISSA, which was once an independent country.

ORISSA.

"ORISSA contains one hundred and twenty-nine brick forts. The periodical rains continue here eight months. They have three months of winter, and only one month that is very hot.

Rice

Rice is cultivated in great abundance. The inhabitants live upon rice, fiſh, and vegetables. After boiling the rice, they ſteep it in cold water, and eat it the ſecond day. The men are very effeminate, being exceedingly fond of ornaments, and anointing their bodies with ſandal-wood oil. The women cover only the lower parts of the body, and many make themſelves dreſſes of the leaves of trees. *Contrary to the general practice of the Hindoo women, they may marry two or three times. Here are many idolatrous temples, built of ſtone, and of a vaſt height. Paper and ink are ſeldom uſed in this province; for the moſt part they write with an iron ſtyle upon the leaf of the taar-tree, and they hold the pen with the fiſt clenched. Here are manufactures of cloth. The fruits and flowers of Oriſſa are very fine, and in great plenty. The nuſreen is a flower delicately formed, and of an exquiſite ſmell; the outer ſide of the leaf is white, and the inner of a yellow colour. The Keurah grows here quite common; and they have great variety of the beetle-leaf. They reckon all their accounts in cowris[r], which is a ſmall white ſhell, with

[r] Eighty cowris are called a Pun, and from fifty to ſixty puns amount in value to a rupee. The great cheapneſs of proviſion makes it convenient to have ſo very low a medium for dealings among the poor.

an aperture in the middle, and they are found on the ſea ſhore."

Cuttek, or Cattack, is mentioned in the Ayeen Akbery as the capital of Oriſſa, containing a fort, with many magnificent buildings, which, when Acbar reigned, was the reſidence of the governors of the province. It deſcribes the ſurrounding country as lying very low, and in the rainy ſeaſon as entirely covered with water. The deſcription of the famous palace of Cattack merits attention, as it marks the different apartments, both for ſtate and convenience, into which the manſion of an Indian rajah of that period was divided.

" The palace of Cattack conſiſts of nine diſtinct buildings. The firſt is for the elephants, camels, and horſes. The ſecond is for the artillery and military ſtores; where are alſo quarters for the guards and other attendants. The third is occupied by the porters and watchmen. The fourth is appropriated for the ſeveral artificers. The kitchens make the fifth range. The ſixth contains the rajah's public apartments. The ſeventh is for the tranſaction of private buſineſs. The eighth is where the women reſide; and the ninth is the rajah's ſleeping apartments. To the ſouth of this palace is a very ancient Hindoo temple."

In

In the town of Purſorem, on the banks of the ſea, the temple of Jaganaut is particularized, concerning the origin of whoſe erection and worſhip in Hindoſtan the following circumſtances are related. At the deſire of an ancient rajah of the province, a learned Bramin was ſent to fix upon the ſpot moſt proper for the foundation of a city. Arriving at this ſpot, and inclining to fix upon this ſituation as by far the moſt eligible of any he had yet ſeen, but ſtill not entirely determined, he obſerved a crow plunge into the water, and after waſhing its body, pay its obeiſance to the ocean. The Bramin, who is affirmed to have underſtood the language of birds, enquired of the crow the meaning of this ſtrange procedure: the bird anſwered, That he had formerly been of the tribe of Dewtah, but from the curſe of a religious man was transformed into that ſhape; that the ſpot whereon he ſtood was highly favoured by the Creator of the univerſe; and that whoever worſhipped him on that ſpot ſhould not fail to proſper. Animated by this intelligence, as well as by ſucceeding revelations of the divine will, the rajah built a large city, and a place of worſhip on the ſpot where the crow had appeared. Not long after, the ſame rajah was directed by a viſion to caſt his eyes, upon a certain day, on

the ſea-ſhore, when there would ariſe out of the water a piece of wood, fifty-two inches long, and one cubit and an half broad; that this was the true form of the Deity; that he muſt keep the invaluable treaſure ſeven days in his houſe, and afterwards ſet it up in the temple as an object of adoration. The viſion was verified by the appeqrance, at the appointed time, of the wooden divinity, which the rajah called Jaganaut, and afterward ornamenting it with gold and precious ſtones, depoſited it in the temple, where it became the object of worſhip of all ranks of people; and is reported to have performed many miracles. The Bramins waſh the images of Jaganaut ſix times every day; and the quantity of victuals daily dreſſed for theſe idols is ſo very gaeat as to feed twenty thouſand perſons. They alſo at certain times carry the image in proceſſion upon a carriage of ſixteen wheels, which in the Hindoo language is called Ruhth; and they believe that whoever aſſiſts in drawing it along, obtains remiſſion of all his ſins.

As the pagoda of Jaganaut is the moſt celebrated and frequented in India, I thought the foregoing account of its origin, from ſo authentic a regiſter of provincial antiquities as the Ayeen Akbery, would not be unwelcome to the reader. He

will

will find, in Mr. Hamilton's[s] account of this coaſt, an engraving of this temple, which is an immenſe circular ſtructure, about fifty yards high, with the image of *an ox*, larger than the life, cut out of one entire ſtone, and projecting from the centre of the building. The fore-part of the animal is alone viſible; the hinder-parts are fixed in the wall. He has likewiſe an engraving of the coach, four ſtories in height, in which the idol is carried about in proceſſion, and under whoſe wheels he reports that the infatuated devotees often throw themſelves in a tranſport of holy fury. He deſcribes the idol as an irregular, pyramidal, black ſtone, and the temple itſelf as deſtitute of any light except what it receives from one hundred lamps conſtantly burning before him. Tavernier, who was at this place about thirty years before Hamilton, informs us that this idol was adorned with a mantle of gold tiſſue, had two large diamonds in the place of eyes, and another pendant from his neck, with bracelets of pearls and rubies for his arms; and that the great revenues of Jaganaut aroſe from the liberal donations which were

s See Hamilton's Account of the Eaſt-Indies, vol. I. p. 385. London edit. 1744. I have been told that Mr. H.'s homely ſimilitude of Jaganaut's temple to a vaſt butt ſet on end, is not unſuitable.

daily

daily poured into its treafury by innumerable pilgrims of every defcription.

The foobah of Bengal is faid to confift of twenty-four circars, and feven hundred and eighty-feven mahls. The revenue is fifty-nine crore, eighty-four lacks, fifty-nine thoufand three hundred and nineteen daums; and Frafer † allows three hundred and twenty daums to a pound fterling. The forces maintained by the zemeendars amount to 23,350 cavalry, 801,158 infantry, 170 elephants, 4,260 cannon, and 4,400 boats.

B A H A R.

" Bahar is fituated in the fecond climate. The length from Gurhee to Rhotas is 120 cofe, and the breadth from Tirhoot to the northern mountains includes 110 cofe. It is bounded on the eaft by Bengal, by Allahabad and Owd on the weft, and on the north and fouth by large mountains."

" The principal rivers of this foobah are the Ganges and the Sown. The Sown, the Nerbuddah, and the Chelum, all three fpring from one fource, near Kurrah. The water of the Sown is cool, pleafant to the tafte, and

† Frafer's Nadir Shah, p. 33.

whole-

wholeſome; having run to the ſouth as far as Muneyr, it then unites with the Ganges. The river Gunduck comes from the north, and empties itſelf into the Ganges near Hajeepoor. The ſummer months here are very hot; but the winter is very temperate. The rains continue ſix months. The country is continually covered with verdure, and the ſoil is ſo hard, that during the ſtormy winds which blow here, you are not much incommoded with the duſt. Agriculture is in the higheſt perfection, the rice being ſo excellent, and of ſuch a variety of ſpecies, as are no where to be equalled. Sugar-cane is cultivated in great abundance, and in high perfection. Mughee is that ſpecies of the beetle-leaf which is moſt eſteemed; it is of a very thin and delicate texture, of a fragrant ſmell, with a beautiful colour, and the flavour is delicious. It is not cuſtomary in Bahar to divide the crops. The husbandman brings the rents himſelf, and, when he makes his firſt payment, comes dreſſed in his beſt attire."

Moſt of the houſes in this province are deſcribed as roofed with tiles, and the inhabitants are reported to be famous for building boats, and for the manufacture of gilded glaſs: they have good elephants in plenty; but horſes and camels are ſcarce.' Bahar is famous for parrots,

goats,

goats, fighting cocks, "remarkable for affording great ſport," and great variety of hawks.

In ſircar Mungheer a ſtone wall is mentioned as extending from the Ganges to the mountains, and forming the boundary between Bengal and Bahar. In ſircar Bahap is Gaya, famous as a place of Hindoo worſhip, and called, from Brama, Birm-Gaya. Tirhoot, which Sir W. Jones mentions, on the authority of ſome information received in India, as the ſuppoſed reſidence of a colony of prieſts from Egypt, is aſſerted to have been from old time the reſidence of Hindoo learning; and this aſſertion renders that circumſtance highly probable. The water and air of Tirhoot are much celebrated; and it had delightful groves of orange-trees, extending thirty coſe, not ill calculated to promote the purpoſes of ſcience, and encourage meditation. The laſt remarkable place mentioned in Bahar is the ſtrong fortreſs of Rhotas, ſituated upon a lofty mountain of moſt difficult acceſs, and fourteen coſe in circumference. The incloſed land is cultivated; and within this ſpace are many ſprings: water may be procured in any part, by digging three or four ells below the ſurface of the earth. There are ſeveral lakes within the forts. During the rains there are not leſs than ten delightful cataracts.

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The ſoobah of Bahar contains ſeven circars, ſubdivided into 199 pergunnahs. The groſs amount of its revenue is ſtated at 55,47,985,13 ſicca rupees: it furniſhes 11,415 cavalry, 449,350 infantry.

The whole ſoobah of Bengal, the greateſt part of Bahar, and the diſtricts of Midnapore in Oriſſa, are in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh nation, or rather of their repreſentative in that quarter, the Britiſh Eaſt-India Company. Thoſe parts of Bahar and Oriſſa which are not in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, conſtituting, in regard to Bahar, a very ſmall, but, in regard to Oriſſa, a very conſiderable proportion of thoſe reſpective ſoobahs, are in the hands of the Marattas.

ALLAHABAD.

This ſoobah is repreſented as ſituated in the ſecond climate. In length it is 160 coſe, in breadth 122 coſe. To the eaſt it has Bahar; to the north Owde; Bundhoo lies on the ſouth, and Agra on the weſt. Its principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jown, or Jumna. It produces variety of fruits, flowers, and excellent plants; has abundance of melons and grapes, and is well ſtocked with game. Agriculture is

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in great perfection; and the inhabitants fabricate some beautiful species of cloths, and have a manufacture of woollen carpets. Allahabad, the former name of which was Piyaug, is the capital city of this soobah. Acbar gave it the former name, and built a stone fort, in which are many magnificent edifices. Benares is specified by the name of Baranassey, as a large city situated between two rivers, the Birnah and the Assey, whence probably its former appellation is derived; but its most ancient name was Kassy. It is built in the form of a bow, of which the river Ganges resembles the bow-string. Its temple was formerly as celebrated in Hindostan, and as much resorted to as Mecca is by the Mohammedans. It is the ancient seat of Hindoo learning, as well as religion. Jownpoor is the next city in magnitude, and Chunar is described as a stone fort of incomparable strength, situated upon a lofty hill, at whose foot flows the Ganges. Callinger is a fortress still stronger and more celebrated. Within the compass of its walls are many springs and lakes, and many temples devoted to idolatry. Ebony, and a variety of wild fruits, are found here; in its neighbourhood there is a diamond mine; and twenty cose from the fort small diamonds are sometimes found. Jeipal's burning himself, and the

the cause of it, have been already mentioned: another instance of a rajah's devoting himself to the same mode of destruction occurs in the account of Callinger, with this difference, that the former put an end to his existence because his reputation was lost; the latter from the fear of losing it. The greatest part of Allahabad is in possession of the nabob Vizier, the remainder is under the controul of the English. Allahabad contains ten sircars, divided into 177 purgunnahs. Its revenue is stated at 53,10,695—7—9 sicca rupees. It furnishes 11,375 cavalry, 2,37,870 infantry, and 323 elephants.

O W D H.

Owdh has Bahar on the east; on the north it is bounded by mountains; by Manickpoor on the south, and on the west by Kinoge. Its length is stated at 135 cose, and its breadth at 115 cose. The Gogra, the Gounty, and the Sy, are its largest rivers. The water and air are good, and the seasons are temperate. Agriculture in this soobah is in high perfection. Some particular kinds of rice growing here are represented as "incomparable for whiteness, delicacy, odour, and digestiveness." The crops

are

are ſown three months earlier than in any other part of Hindoſtan, and the ſtalks are ſaid to riſe as faſt as the innundating water. "Here are great variety of fruits and flowers. Of game there are many kinds, and plenty of wild buffaloes. When the plains are overflowed, the wild animals reſort to the high lands, and the hunting of them affords great diverſion. Some animals remain all day in the water, juſt keeping their noſes above the ſurface to breathe, and coming on ſhore only at night."

The incredible magnitude of the city of Owdh in ancient times has been mentioned before. It is eſteemed one of the moſt ſacred places of antiquity. At the diſtance of a coſe from the city the Gogra and Sy unite their ſtreams, and the confluent river runs at the foot of the fort. From the northern mountains are imported a number of curious articles of commerce: among theſe are ſpecified muſk, cowtails, chook (an acid mixture of lime and lemon-juice boiled to a conſiſtence), tincar, civet, zedoary, red-wood, aſafœtida, and amber. In return, the traders in theſe articles carry back earthenware. Lucknow is a large city, pleaſantly ſituated upon the banks of the Gounty, and the ſuburbs are alſo very delightful. In Abul Fazel's account of this ſoobah are recorded many inſtances

ſtances of the abſurd ſuperſtitious credulity both of the Mohammedans and the Hindoos. According to the former, it contains the hallowed tombs of Seth and Job, of which wonderful ſtories are related. According to the latter, it has a reſervoir of water, bubbling up with ſuch violence, that a man cannot force his way down into it; ſands that ſometimes aſſume the form of Mahadeo; and fields that, during a particular feſtivity, vomit forth flames. Biratch is a large city, delightfully ſituated amongſt a number of gardens upon the banks of the river Sy. The town of Belgram is celebrated for producing men "with lively imaginations, and melodious voices;" and for a well, whoſe efficacious water improves the underſtanding, while it amends the ſight.

The ſoobah of Owdh, or Oude, as the word is more generally written, and the greateſt part of Alla-habad, are at this day in the poſſeſſion of Azuph Dowlah, ſon of the late Sujah Dowlah, vizier of the empire, and a tributary ally of the Britiſh power in India.

Owdh has five circars, divided into 138 pergunnahs, Its total amount of revenue is ſtated at 50,43,454—4 ſicca rupees; its force at 7660 cavalry; 1,68,250 infantry; and 59 elephants.

AGRA.

" Agra is ſituated in the ſecond climate. This ſoobah is bounded on the eaſt by Ghatempoor; on the north by the river Ganges; on the ſouth lies Chundery; and Pulwuh confines it on the weſt." Its greateſt length is 175 coſe; its extreme breadth is from Canouge to Chundery; but the number of coſe forming that breadth is not ſpecified. The principal rivers are the Jumna, riſing in the northern mountains; and the Chumbul, deriving its ſource from Haſſelpoor in Malwa. The union of the two rivers takes place at Culpee.

" A great many ſituations in the ſouthern mountainous parts of this ſoobah are remarkably pleaſant and healthy. Agriculture is here in perfection. They have abundance of flowers and ſweet ſcented oils, very excellent beetle-leaf, and grapes and melons, as fine as thoſe produced in Iran and Turan." What is related concerning the capital of Agra has been noticed before. The ſecond place of conſequence mentioned is Futtehpore, containing a ſtrong fort, with many magnificent buildings, a palace, a moſque, and a monaſtery, erected by Acbar. Over one of its gates are placed two aſtoniſhing elephants, carved in ſtone.

Futtehpore

Futtehpore is celebrated for a quarry of red ſtone, from which the materials for erecting its own ſtupendous, but now ruined ſtructures, as well as the ſplendid palace of Agra, were obtained. The third city is Byaneh, once the capital of this ſoobah, famous for indigo of the moſt valuable ſpecies, for white ſugar, for mangoes excellent in flavour, and of uncommon magnitude, "ſome weighing above two pounds;" and for various other rarities. The fort is large, and contains many edifices and ſubterraneous caverns, where there are now found warlike weapons and kitchen utenſils. It is remarkable for a very high tower. Concerning the city of Muttra, upon the banks of the Jumna, nothing is ſpecified, but that it has many idolatrous temples, the reſort of pious Hindoos. Of that hallowed city, however, which was the birth-place of Criſhna, ſome farther account will be given hereafter. Of Kinoje too much probably has been already ſaid. Gwalion, that celebrated fortreſs which for ſo many ages was the priſon of the royal family, is the laſt place of importance noticed, but is not particularly deſcribed. It is, however, ſaid to be celebrated for the goodneſs of its air and water, its fine ſingers, and beautiful women. In Agra are manufactures of blankets and fine ſtuffs; and in Allore

 thoſe

those of woollen carpets and glass. In this soobah there are mines of silver, torquoise stones, and copper: it contains thirteen circars, subdivided into two hundred and three pergunnahs. The amount of revenue is 64 cose, 62 lacks, 50,304 daums, or sicca rupees, 1,61,56,257—9; and the number of the forces it furnishes are 50,600 cavalry; 5,77,570 infantry; and 221 elephants.

The soobah and city of Agra, during the period of the decline, and since the extinction of the Mogul empire, have witnessed a rapid succession of masters. The Jauts were the first usurpers, and in 1770 were in possession of the city, and a great part of the soobah bordering upon the Jumna. From their conquests in Agra, that once powerful race were, about sixteen years ago, driven by the superior forces of Nudjuff Caun. Nudjuff was in his turn expelled by the present possessor, Madajee Sindia, at this time one of the most formidable among the self-created sovereigns of Hindostan.

MALWA.

Malwa, which, like the preceding soobahs, is situated in the second climate, is in length 245 cose, and in breadth 230 cose. "It is bounded

bounded on the eaſt by Bandhnoo; on the north by Nerwer, and mountains; on the ſouth by Boklaneh, and on the weſt by Gujerat and Ajmeer. The rivers Nerbuddah, Soopera, Calyſind, Neem, and Lowdy, flow through this ſoobah. You cannot travel two or three coſe without meeting with ſtreams of good water, whoſe banks are ſhaded by the wild willow, and other trees; and decorated with the hyacinth, and other beautiful and odoriferous flowers."

"There are abundance of lakes and verdant plains, ornamented with innumerable magnificent and elegant buildings. The climate is ſo temperate, that in winter there is no occaſion for warm cloathing; nor is it neceſſary in ſummer to cool the water with ſaltpetre. But in the four rainy months the night air is cold enough to render a quilt neceſſary. The ſituation of this ſoobah, compared with the other parts of Hindoſtan [b], is ſomewhat high, and all the land is arable. Both harveſts are very good. Wheat, poppies, ſugar-cane, mangoes, muſk-melons, and grapes, are here in high perfection. In Haſſelpoor the vine bears fruit twice a year. The beetle-leaf is very fine.

b Mr. Rennel ſays, it is unequivocally the higheſt region in Hindoſtan.

 The

The natives of Malwa give their children opium to eat till they are three years old; the peaſants, and even the market people, are never without arms."

The principal places of importance enumerated in Malwa are Owjain, a large city, held in high veneration by the Hindoos, and ſituated upon the banks of the Soopera, a river which Abul Fazil, with great gravity, obſerves ſometimes flows with milk; Gurreh, a diſtrict abounding with foreſts and wild elephants, ſo fertile that it ſupplies both Gujerat and the Deccan with grain; Chundery, a very large and ancient city, in which is a ſtone fort; and indeed this city muſt have been one of the largeſt in India, for it is ſaid to have contained "fourteen thouſand ſtone houſes, three hundred and eighty-four markets, three hundred and ſixty caravanſeras, and twelve thouſand moſques; and Mundoo, once the capital of the ſoobah, whoſe fortreſs is twelve coſe in circuit, and diſplays in the centre of it a minaret, eight ſtories in height. This deſerted capital is ſaid to abound in monuments of ancient magnificence, and to be honoured with the tombs of the Kuljyan ſultans. In its neighbourhood a ſpecies of tamarind grows, as big as the cocoa-nut. I omit the long account of the Paris ſtone, ſaid

to

to have been diſcovered in this ſoobah, which had the enviable property of converting whatever metal it touched into gold, as of kindred veracity with that of the rivers, whoſe current was milk.

Malwa at this time is divided among the Paiſhwah, the nominal head of the weſtern empire of Marattas, Madajee Sindia before mentioned, and Holkar, a Maratta chief, whoſe capital is Indore, ſituated about thirty miles on the weſt of Ougein.

Malwa contains twelve ſircars, ſubdivided into 301 pergunnahs. Its revenue is ſtated at twenty-four crore, ſix lacks, ninety-five thouſand and fifty-two daums, or ſicca rupees 6,17,376—4—15; its forces at 280,816 cavalry; 68,000 infantry; and 90 elephants.

KHANDEES.

This ſoobah, which was by Acbar denominated Dandees, in memory of his ſon Sultan Daniel, who died at its capital of Burhanpore, is alſo ſituated in the ſecond climate. It is in length ſeventy-five coſe, and in breadth fifty coſe; being bounded on the north and weſt by Malwa, on the ſouth by Kalneh, on the eaſt by Berar, and on the north by a range of lofty

 mountains.

mountains. "It abounds with rivers and rivulets. Of these the principal is the Talee, frequently called the Poomy. The air of this soobah is delightful; and the winter is very temperate. Jewary is the grain principally cultivated in this soobah; and in several places they have three crops of it in the year. Their esculent plants are remarkably fine; the rice is excellent; and they have great plenty of flowers and fruits, together with bettle-leaf in abundance."

Among the principal cities, towns, and forts enumerated, are Asseer, a castle where the governor of the province resides, situated upon a lofty mountain, incomparably strong, and encompassed with three other forts, at whose top is a very large city—Burhanpore, the capital of Khandees, lying upon the river Tapty, and three cose from Asseer, surrounded with beautiful gardens, abounding with sandal-wood, and inhabited by people of all nations, but particularly by handicraftsmen—Adelabad, a good town, which the Hindoos hold in great veneration—Changdavy, a village near which the rivers Tapty and Poorna unite their streams, forming a confluence, held sacred by the Hindoos, and by them called Jiggerteerut, or *the liver of holy places*—Damerny, a populous town,

town, near which is a reſervoir of *boiling water*, worſhipped by the Hindoos—Chowpurreh, a large town, well inhabited—and Thalny, a fort which, though ſituated upon a plain, is nevertheleſs a place of great ſtrength.

In this ſoobah are thirty-two pergunnahs, all in high cultivation. The huſbandmen are honourably ſpoken of as dutiful ſubjects, as very laborious, and ſome of them as remarkable for their ſkill in taming lions. Khandees, or Candeiſh, is the ſmalleſt of the ſoobahs, and is at preſent divided among the Paiſhwa, Sindia, and Holkar. The fine city of Burhanpore is in the poſſeſſion of Sindia. The amount of the revenue is 12,64,762 Berary tungahs; and the tungah is reckoned at twenty-four daums.

BERAR.

The ſoobah of Berar is in length 200 coſe, and in breadth 180 coſe. It is alſo ſituated in the ſecond climate. On the eaſt it joins to Beeragurgh; on the north lies Settarah; on the ſouth Hindiah; and on the weſt Telingana. "The air is very temperate; and the ſoil is highly cultivated." The principal river is the Godavery, which is a ſacred ſtream, dedicated to Kotum, as the Ganges is to Mahadeo, and

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is holden in great veneration by the natives. Its ſource is in the mountains of Sihya, near Turneek, and the current paſſing through the territory of Ahmednagur enters Berar, and from thence rolls into Telingana. The Talee and the Tapty are alſo ſacred ſtreams.

In this ſoobah are diamond mines. The learned reader will recollect, that Ptolemy ſpeaks of the diamonds found on the banks of the Sambulpoor river. In ſome parts are ſalt-petre works, which yield a conſiderable revenue to the ſtate: they have likewiſe manufactures of flowered ſtuffs. "In Indore and Neermul are ſteel mines. Thoſe places are alſo famous for very neat ſtone veſſels. Their oxen are very fine. The houſe cocks which are bred there have black blood and bones."

Eletchpore is deſcribed as a large city, where the governor of the ſoobah reſides; and Kullem as an ancient city, famous for buffaloes. Some very ſtrong forts are enumerated, of which the principal is Ramgurh, ſaid by Abul Fazil not to be at that time conquered by Acbar. Indeed, as only the weſtern parts of Berar were ever conquered by that emperor, the account of this ſoobah is but very incomplete; nor, from their ignorance of the internal parts, has this defect been even yet ſupplied by modern writers. In

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the mountains of Berar liberty ſeems to have made a bold ſtand againſt the incurſions of the Mogul arms. The number, which is conſiderable, and the ſtrength, which is truly formidable, of the ancient rajas and zemeendars of Berar, are particularized by the ſecretary of Acbar. One of them, by name Chatwa, is ſaid to have commanded 2000 cavalry, 50,000 infantry, and 100 elephants. As in Bahar there is a ſacred place called Gaya, dedicated to Brama; ſo in Berar is there a Gaya, ſacred to Biſhen: and our author tells us of a third of the ſame name, near Bijapoor, being a vaſt reſervoir of water, remarkable for a very deep ſpring. At theſe three places, ſay the Bramins, if charity be beſtowed, it obtains pardon for the deceaſed.

Berar contains 13 ſircars, ſubdivided into 42 pergunnahs, the revenues of which are collected by Nuſſuk, that is, by a valuation of the crops.

Not being a ſettled government, the total amount of the forces it could raiſe is not ſpecified, nor that of its revenue clearly ſtated. The principal part of this ſoobah belongs to a Maratta chief, called Moodajee Boonſlah, a direct deſcendant of Sevagee, the original founder of that empire in Hindoſtan, whoſe capital is Nagpoor; the remainder of Berar is holden by

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the Nizam, who pays a chout, or fourth part of its clear revenue to Moodajee.

GUJERAT.

This soobah, situated in the second climate, is in length 302 cose, and in breadth 260 cose. On the east lies Khandees; on the north Jalore and Ider; on the south are the ports of Dummun and Cambayet; and on the west Jugget, which is situated on the sea-shore. The southern parts of Gujerat abound with mountains. It is watered by the ocean, and by the following rivers; the Sabermutty, the Bateruck, the Mehindery, the Narbudda, the Tapty, and the Sirsooty. The air of this soobah is temperate; the soil sandy. That species of grain called Jewary, and Bajero, is said to be principally cultivated in Gujerat; wheat, barley, and rice, are imported from the neighbouring provinces. So great an abundance of mangoes, of which some are uncommonly large and delicious, of musk-melons, figs, and most other fruits, plants, and flowers, natives of India, grows here, that the whole soobah has the appearance of a perfect garden. All sorts of Indian manufactures flourish in Gujerat; many of the most curious and costly kinds. Boxes, inlaid with ivory

ivory and pearl, gold and ſilver ſtuffs, velvets, cotton cloths, excellent ſwords, bows, and arrows, are fabricated here. There is a conſiderable traffic in precious ſtones, and ſilver is imported from Room and Irak.

The capital of this rich, flouriſhing, and extenſive ſoobah is Ahmedabad [r]. The ſituation is deſcribed as remarkably healthy. It has two forts, and was once divided into 360 quarters, of which only 84 are in a proſperous condition. "In theſe are 1000 moſques, each having two large minarets, and many wonderful inſcriptions." Twelve coſe from this city is Mahmudabad, containing very many grand edifices, and ſurrounded with a wall ſeven coſe ſquare. The ports of Cambay and Ghogeh are dependent upon ſircar Ahmedabad. Ghogeh (Goga) is a large port, well built, and inhabited by merchants of various kinds. The cargoes of the ſhips are put into ſmall veſſels, called Tahwery, which tranſport them to Cambay. Siddahpoor and Beernagurh are noticed as places of great religious reſort, and inhabited principally by Bramins; the latter containing 300 idolatrous temples. Chumpaneer is a fort ſituated upon a lofty mountain, the road to which for

[r] The reader is deſired to notice, that ABAD always means *city*, and PORE, *place:* thus, Ahmed-abad is the city of Ahmed; Fattehpore, the place of victory.

upwards

upwards of two cofe is exceedingly difficult, and there are gates at feveral parts of the defile. At one place they have excavated near fixty ells in length, which fpace is covered with planks, that can be removed on the approach of an enemy. Sooret (Surat) is a great emporium. The river Tapti runs paft it, and, at the diftance of feven cofe, joins the fea. The followers of Zerdufht, when they fled from Perfia, fettled at Surat, where they practifed the doctrine inculcated by the Zend, and its commentry the Pazend. From the liberality of his Majefty's difpofition, fays Abul Fazil, every fect exercifes its particular mode of worfhip, without interruption. Baroach is alfo a fine fort, and a grand emporium: it is wafhed by the Nerbuddah in its paffage to the ocean. Sircar Surat was formerly an independent territory; the Chief was of the Ghelote tribe, and commanded 50,000 cavalry, and 100,000 infantry. It is now formed into nine principal divifions, each inhabited by a different tribe.

Through the defcription of all thofe divifions it is not neceffary for us to follow the Ayeen Akbery: but, in the firft divifion, called *New Surat*, may be noticed the city and ftrong ftone fort of Chunahgurh, fituated in the heart of the peninfula: and in the fecond divifion Put-

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ten Sumnaut, a large town upon the ſhore of the ocean, particularly challenges our attention, from its having been anciently a moſt celebrated place of Hindoo worſhip, and decorated with a pagoda the moſt ſuperb and wealthy of any throughout Hindoſtan. The ſource of the Nerbuddah, which is holden in the moſt ſacred veneration by the Hindoos, is near Sumnaut. Thoſe who delight in prodigies, will find their taſte for the marvellous gratified, by reading farther the account of this ſecond diviſion of Gujerat. The third diviſion, it is ſaid, contains the remains of a large city in ruins, whoſe name is not ſpecified, but of which the ſituation, at the foot of the mountains of Sironj, appears very deſirable. This ancient city Mr. Rennel takes to have been Nehlwarah, mentioned by Feriſhta as the capital of this ſoobah, and by the Arabian travellers of the ninth century as the reſidence of the ſupreme Balhara, or monarch of Cambay. " The ſixth diviſion has ſuch large rivers, the mountains are ſo lofty, and the country is in general ſo woody, as to be impervious to an army. It is inhabited by the tribe of Chetore." The ninth diviſion is remarkable for being the reſidence of the Charun tribe, a race of people who ſeem to reſemble the ancient bards; for we are told that

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"the greateſt part of them employ themſelves in ſinging hymns of celebration, and in reciting genealogies; and that in battle they repeat warlike fables to animate the troops. They are alſo famous for diſcovering ſecret things: throughout Hindoſtan there is hardly a great man who hath not ſome of this tribe in their ſervice." After the enumeration of theſe diviſions, is deſcribed the wild and dreary region of Cutch, lying to the weſt of Gujerat, and extending in length 250 coſe, and in breadth 100 coſe. The greateſt part of Cutch is compoſed of woods and uncultivated ſands; but fine horſes are bred in thoſe woods, which are ſuppoſed to be of Arabian extraction. They have alſo remarkably good camels and goats. The men are tall and handſome, and wear long beards. The capital city is Tahej, which has two ſtrong forts, called Jhareh and Khundkote. the military force of this country is ſtated at 10,000 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry. A conſiderable tract of low fenny country, on the weſt of Ahmedabad, at certain ſeaſons inundated by the ſea, and, when dry, famous for the manufacture of great quantities of ſalt, is alſo particularly pointed out in the Ayeen Akbery: but our wonder is not a little excited, that a river of ſuch magnitude as the Puddar, which

which paſſes through, and contributes, by its riſing waters, to overflow that ſpot, is not ſo much as mentioned.

The ſoobah of Gujerat contains nine ſircars, divided into 198 pergunnahs, of which 13 are ports. The amount of revenue in ſicca rupees is 10,96,223—3—11. The forces are rated at 67375 cavalry, and 8900 infantry.

The largeſt, as well as the moſt valuable portion of Gujerat is divided between the Paiſhwa, or nominal head of the weſtern empire of the Marattas, and Futty Sing Gwicker, whoſe dominion extends chiefly over the northern region. The Engliſh army under general Goddard were once in poſſeſſion of the fineſt part of this ſoobah, having reduced the important fortreſſes of Baſſein and Ahmedabad, and penetrated the inland country to the very foot of the Gauts; but, in the peace negociated with the Marattas in 1783, theſe ſplendid acquiſitions were prudently relinquiſhed, and they at this day remain inveſted only with the ſovereignty of Bombay, Salſette, and the adjoining iſles.

AJMEER.

The greateſt length of Ajmeer is 168 coſe, and the extreme breadth includes 150 coſe. On

the eaſt lies Agra; on the north part of Delhi; it has Gujerat on the ſouth; and Deybalpore of Multan confines it on the weſt. The ſoil of this ſoobah is repreſented as a deep ſand; and therefore the ſucceſs of the harveſt depends entirely upon the periodical rains. Their winter is temperate; but the ſummer is intenſely hot. The revenue is in general a ſeventh or an eighth of the produce of the harveſt; little being paid in ready money. The common people are ſaid to live in houſes with pitched roofs, built of bamboo and ſtraw. To the ſouth are mountains; and the whole of this ſoobah abounds with ſtrong-holds.

Ajmeer is compoſed of Meywar, Marwar, and Hadowty. Meywar contains ten thouſand villages, and the whole of ſircar Chitore is dependent upon it. It is in length 40 coſe, and in breadth 30 coſe; and it has three very conſiderable forts; viz. Chitore, Cowmblere, and Mandel. The governor reſides at Chitore. In Chowra is an iron mine. In Jainpore, and ſome places dependent upon Mandel, are copper mines. The preſent poſſeſſors of theſe lands are native zemeendars, who anciently were named Rawel, but for a long time paſt are called Ranna. They are of the Ghelote tribe, and conſider themſelves to be

deſcend-

descendants from Noorshirvan, king of Persia. This circumstance is somewhat singular; but one still more singular occurs in the same page; for the elected rajah has the Keshkeh drawn upon his forehead with human blood. This custom alone seems to prove that they are not of the true line of the blood-abhorring Hindoo. Marwar is in length 100, and in breadth 60 cose. Sircars Ajmeer, Jewdehpore, Sirowheh, Nagore, and Beykaneer, are dependent upon it. The Rathore (Maratta) tribe have inhabited this division for ages past. They have many forts, of which the following are the most famous; Ajmeer, Jewdeh-pore, Beykaneer, Jelmeer, Amerkote, and Jyugurh. Hadowty, called also sircar Nagore, is inhabited by the Hadeh tribe. This soobah is entirely in the possession of Sindia, and the Marattas. It contains seven sircars, subdivided into 197 pergunnahs. The amount of the revenue is 22,84,1507 daums; out of which 23,26336 are Seyurghal. It has 86,500 cavalry, and 3,47,000 Rajpoot infantry.

D E H L Y.

This soobah is situated in the third climate. Its greatest length is stated at 165 cose; its extreme breadth at 140 cose. On the east lies

Agra; on the north are mountains; on the fouth the boundaries are Agra and Ajmeer; and Lodyaneh confines it on the weft. The principal rivers are the Ganges and the Jumna: among the inferior ftreams may be numbered the Cagger. The climate is very temperate. Moft of the lands are inundated during the periodical rains. Some places are faid to produce two harvefts in a year. Here grow moft of the fruits of Perfia, Tartary, and Hindoftan, with a great variety of flowers. Throughout this foobah are many grand buildings of ftone and brick; and it is ftored with the productions of every part of the globe. A part of the northern mountains of this foobah is called Kamaoon, where there are mines of gold, lead, filver, iron, copper, orpiment, and borax. Here are alfo found abundance of mufk-deer, filk-worms, falcons of various kinds, and plenty of honey.

The city of Dehly has been already defcribed at large. Sembhel (Sambul) is the city next deferving notice, in which is a Bramin place of worfhip called Hurmundel, where it is faid the tenth Avator will make his appearance. Whenever he comes, and under whatever form, things will be found ftrangely altered in thefe parts, fince the period of the laft Avator, or the benevolent Boodh's appearance among the Hindoos.

doos. In ſircar Sembhel the rhinoceros is frequently hunted. Of his ſkin they make ſhields, and his horn is applied to the ends of bows, where the ſtring is faſtened. Sehrind is called a famous city; it was doubtleſs the Serinda whence ſilk was brought in the time of Juſtinian; and although Mr. Rennel obſerves that no mention is made of a ſilk-manufacture at this place in the Ayeen Akbery, yet it will be remembered, that a few lines above, this ſoobah is ſaid to abound in ſilk-worms. Tahneſir is held ſacred by the Hindoos. The river Sirſutty, to which they pay profound adoration, runs near it; and in its vicinity is the venerated lake Koorkhet. This was the ſcene of the Mahabbarut, or the great war. The city of Huſtnapore was the imperial reſidence of Rajah Behrut, a prince renowned for juſtice and love of his ſubjects; of whom, and his capital of Huſtnapore, or Hiſtinapore, much more will be ſaid hereafter,

This ſoobah contains eight ſircars, ſubdivided into 232 pergunnahs. The revenue is 60,16,15,555 daums; out of which 3,30,75,739 daums are Seyurghal,

The Seiks, that riſing and powerful ſtate before mentioned, connected together by a ſtrong federal union, are at this day in poſſeſſion of the weſtern parts of Delhi. The ſouthern re-

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gion, extending quite to the city of Delhi, ſucceſſively under the controul of the Jauts and Nudjuff Cawn, has been of late years ſeized upon by Sindia, who permits Shaw Aulum, his royal priſoner, to reign king in name, but in reality a menial penſioner upon his bounty, in the humbled metropolis of the vaſt empire of his anceſtors. The north and eaſtern territories, to the mountains of Sewalic, are governed by the grandſon of the late Nidjib Dowlah, the guardian of the young prince, whom Abdallah, in 1761, placed upon the imperial throne.

LAHOOR.

The length of this ſoobah meaſures 180, the breadth 86, coſe. It is ſituated in the third climate. On the eaſt lies Serhind; on the north Caſhmeer; on the ſouth Beykaneer of Ajmeer; and Multan bounds it on the weſt. Its rivers have been before enumerated. Lahoor is deſcribed as very populous, highly cultivated, and exceedingly healthy. The cultivated lands are chiefly ſupplied with water from wells. The winter is much ſeverer here than in any other part of Hindoſtan, although conſiderably milder than in Perſia and Tartary. Through his majeſty's (Acbar's) encouragement here are to be procured the choiceſt productions of Turan,

Iran,

Iran, and Hindoſtan. Muſk-melons are procurable here all the year, either from the native ſoil, or from the neighbouring provinces. Ice too, is brought from the northern mountains, and ſold throughout the year. Their horſes reſemble thoſe of Irak, and are very fine. In ſome parts, by ſifting and waſhing the ſands of the rivers, they obtain gold, ſilver, copper, tin, braſs, and lead. From a mountain in this ſoobah rock-ſalt is dug in great abundance. It is alſo famous for handicraftſmen.

Of Lahoor, the capital of this ſoobah, enough has been already ſaid. Nagerkote is a city ſituated upon a mountain, with a fort called Kangerah. In its neighbourhood is a moſt ancient and celebrated place of Hindoo devotion and pilgrimage, where the blind enthuſiaſt cuts out his tongue, as a ſacrifice to the idol. Lahoor contains five duabehs, ſubdivided into 234 pergunnahs. The revenue amounts to 55,94,58,423 daums. Its forces are 54,480 cavalry, and 4,26,086 infantry.

MULTAN.

This ſoobah is ſituated in the firſt, ſecond, and third climates. Its length from Feeroozpore to Sewiſtan is 403 coſe; its breadth from

Rhutpore to Jelmeer 108 cose. If Tattah be considered as included in it, which in fact it is by Abul Fazil, the additional length to Cutch and Mocran will measure the enormous line of 660 cose. On the east lies Serhind; the pergunnah of Shoor joins it on the north; on the south it is bounded by the soobah of Ajmeer; on the west are situated Cutch and Mocran, both of which are independent territories. Tattah is watered by the rivers before described in Lahoor, which passing through this soobah, unite their streams, and form the Sind. Of this river, and its mighty though remote rivals in fame, the Ganges and Burrampooter, the reader will find a particular and ample account at the end of this geographical dissertation. Mountains extend along the north side of this soobah. It resembles Lahoor in many respects; and its fruits are delicious: it has, however, the benefit of but little rain, which seldom falls here; and the heat is excessive. Between Seewee and Bhakor is a large desert, over which, during three of the summer months, there blows the pernicious hot wind, called in Arabia *Semoom*. Only two cities of eminence are mentioned in this soobah: the first is Multan, the capital, one of the most ancient cities of India, having been, according to Mr. Rennel, the metropolis of the Malli;

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and from them probably deriving the name of Multan, or Malli-patan; that is, the city of the Malli. It is deſcribed as having a ſtrong brick fort, and a beautiful lofty Minaret. The ſecond is Bhakor, which is ſaid to have a good fort, and in ancient books to have been called Munſoorah.

Multan contains three ſircars, ſubdivided into eight pergunnahs. The amount of its revenue is ſtated at 15,14,03619 daums; of its forces at 13,785 cavalry, and 165,650 infantry. This ſoobah, generally ſpeaking, may be ſaid to be at this day in the hands of the Seiks; as they are doubtleſs in poſſeſſion of its moſt fertile and cultivated regions.

Sircar TATTAH, once an independent territory, but now included in Multan, is of ſuch conſiderable note, as to be honoured by the ſecretary of Acbar with a longer account than that of the ſoobah to which it is annexed. Its length from Bhakor to Cutch and Mocran is 257 coſe; and its breadth from the town of Budeyan to Bunder Lawry is 100 coſe. On the eaſt lies Gujerat; on the north Bhakor and Seewee; on the ſouth the ſea; and on the weſt Cutch and Mocran. Tattah is ſituated in the ſecond climate; and its capital of the ſame name, according to our author, is in latitude 24° 10′, but according

according to Mr. Rennel in 24° 50′. " The winter in this country is ſo temperate, that there is no occaſion for furs, and the heat of the ſummer, except in Sewiſtan, is very moderate. In Tattah are various fine fruits; and the mangoes are remarkably good. A ſmall kind of melon grows wild. Here are alſo a great variety of flowers; and their camels are much eſteemed. [1] The inhabitants travel chiefly by water; they build boats of various conſtructions; and have not leſs than 40,000 in number. They hunt the wild aſs, hares, hogs, and the Kotchpateheh; and they are fond of fiſhing. The huſbandman divides his crops with the government, but is allowed to keep two thirds. Here are iron mines, and ſalt-pits. The food of the natives is rice and fiſh: the former is fine, and in abundance; of the latter a particular kind called Pulwa, which comes from the ſea into the Indus, is exceedingly delicious. They dry fiſh in the ſun, and make an advantageous trade of it; they alſo extract oil from fiſh, which they uſe in building boats." The mountains of this ſoobah are numerous, and run in various directions, nouriſhing on their lofty ſides the ſavage and warlike race of Balloches, or Balloges; ſome tribes of which, ſince the rapid decline of the Moguls, have ſeized upon a conſiderable territory

territory on the borders of Mewat, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the heart of the empire. They breed horſes and camels upon theſe mountains. One of theſe tribes is named NOMURDY by Abul Fazil; and as this was part of the tract called by the ancients INDO-SCYTHIA, Mr. Rennel ſeems inclined to think that they may be the deſcendants of the Scythian Nomades. This conjecture derives force from the prevalence of a cuſtom which was peculiar to the natives of ancient Scythia, that of the graziers who inhabit the villages on the banks of the Indus, occaſionally changing their poſition, and wandering with the deviations of the ſtream.

In ancient times the capital was Braminabad, which was then a very populous city. We may judge of its magnitude from that of its fort, which is ſaid to have had 1400 baſtions, a tenab diſtant from each other; and of this fortification there are at preſent conſiderable veſtiges. Mr. Rennel, in confirmation of this obſerves, that the ruins of a city ſuppoſed to be Braminabad, are ſtill viſible, within four miles of Tatta: and the reader will remember, that Mr. Rennel writes near 200 years after Abul Fazil. Tatta, which is the Daibul of the Perſian tables of Sir William Jones, is now the fourth ſircar

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of the ſoobah of Multan, and is ſaid to contain five inferior ſircars, ſubdivided into fifty-three pergunnahs. The revenue amounts to 6,61,5293 daums.

CASHMERE.

Caſhmere, the laſt of the ſoobahs in Acbar's diviſion of Hindoſtan, is ſituated in the third, and partly in the fourth climate. It is ſaid to be compoſed of Caſhmere, properly ſo called, Pehkely, Bhember, Sewad, Bijore, Kandahar, and Zabuliſtan. This ſoobah is ſtated by Abul Fazil as extending 120 coſe in length, and from ten to twenty-five coſe in breadth. Mr. Rennel, citing this paſſage, either by miſtake, or as a correction, mentions the breadth as only fifteen coſe. He inclines to think the whole ſtatement exaggerated; and tells us, from Mr. Forſter's route, that Caſhmere is 80 miles in length, 40 in breadth, and of an oval form.

Of this "delightful and extraordinary valley of Caſhmere," as it is called by Sir W. Jones in a paſſage quoted before, the deſcription in the Ayeen Akbery abounds with ſuch ardent expreſſions of admiration, that we are induced really to ſuppoſe it to be what by eaſtern writers it is often called, the paradiſe of the Indies.

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It is reprefented as " a garden in perpetual fpring, entirely furrounded with mountains, the fortifications with which nature has furnifhed it, of an aftonifhing height, fo that its grand and romantic appearance cannot fail of delighting thofe who are fond of variety, as well as thofe who take pleafure in retirement. The water is remarkably good, and the cataracts are enchantingly magnificent. Violets, rofes, narciffufes, and innumerable other flowers grow wild in Cafhmere. The fpring and autumn difplay fcenes that at once delight and aftonifh. It has plenty of excellent fruits, efpecially melons, apples, peaches, and apricots; and the rain defcends not in a deluge, as in other parts of Hindoftan, but in light and genial fhowers." Amidft thefe advantages, however, they are not free from the dreadful calamity of frequent earthquakes; " on which account they do not build their houfes with brick and ftone, but of wood, with which the country abounds." In Cafhmere are various manufactures of wool, particularly of fhawls, which are carried to all parts of the globe; and of filk, which occafions the general cultivation of mulberry-trees, not fo much for the fruit as for the leaves, on which the filk worms feed. As the inhabitants are extremely happy, fo we muft fuppofe them to

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be remarkably induſtrious; for every town in this ſoobah has as many handicraftſmen as are to be found in the large cities of other countries. They live chiefly upon rice, fiſh, either freſh or dried, and vegetables. Of animals they have a ſpecies of ſheep called Hundoo, whoſe fleſh is exceedingly delicious and wholeſome. They have horſes, ſmall but hardy; and cows, black and ugly, but yielding plenty of good milk. They breed neither elephants nor camels; and they have neither ſnakes, ſcorpions, nor other venomous reptiles.

Sirrynagur is mentioned as the capital of Caſhmere in Acbar's time, and it is ſaid for ages to have been in a flouriſhing ſtate. The name of Sirrynagur has ſince been exchanged for that of the province, and the modern capital of Caſhmere is deſcribed by Mr. Forſter, the laſt Engliſh viſitor, as a large city built on each ſide of the Chelum, the ancient Hydaſpes, which rolls through the centre of the valley, whoſe whole extent, according to tradition, it anciently overſpread in the form of a vaſt lake. It is ſituated in latitude 33° 49′: its longitude is 73° 11′. The account of this ſoobah, and of the provinces included in it, is uncommonly minute; and, from an enumeration of many abſurd ſuperſtitious practices, ſomewhat tedious.

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A general idea of its wealth, traffic, and natural productions, has been given above; and I ſhall not attempt to follow Abul Fazil through all its various ſubdiviſions, but haſten on to the two important ſircars, as they are here called, of Candahar and Cabul. The ancients divided Caſhmere into two parts only, calling the eaſtern diviſion Meraj, and the weſtern diviſion Kamraj. Its revenue, in the reign of Aurengzeb, Mr. Rennel ſtates at no more than about 35,000 l. ſterling; a circumſtance, he obſerves, that ſeems to prove Caſhmere to have been a favoured province. The forces Abul Fazil ſtates at 4892 cavalry, and 92,400 infantry.

CANDAHAR.

Candahar is ſituated in the third climate. It is in length 300 coſe; and meaſures in breadth 260 coſe. Its capital of the ſame name is ſituated on the mountains, which the Greeks called Paropamiſus, and it is ſuppoſed to have been built by Alexander, whoſe eaſtern name of Secander is eaſily traced in that name. It has been conſidered, from early antiquity, as the gate of Hindoſtan towards Perſia; and through it every invading army from that quarter has conſtantly paſſed. It is ſituated in latitude 33°, and in longi-

longitude 67° 05′. The heat in ſummer at Candahar is extreme; while the cold in winter is ſevere. It has two forts of uncommon ſtrength and magnitude. There are fruits and flowers in abundance in this ſoobah; and the wheat is remarkable for its whiteneſs.

CABUL.

Cabul is ſituated in the third and fourth climates. Its length from Attock Benares, on the banks of the Sind to Hindoo-Ko, (the Indian CAUCASUS) is 150 coſe, and from the river Chaghanſerai, the eaſtern boundary, to Charbargh is 100 coſe. It is impoſſible, Abul Fazil obſerves, to give in writing an adequate idea of the excellence of the air and water of this country. Although the winter is rather ſevere, yet it never does any injury. The temperate and the frozen regions of this very mountainous ſoobah ſo nearly join, that you may paſs from heat to cold in the courſe of a day. The country abounds with delicious fruits. The melons, however, are an exception, being but indifferent; and the harveſts are not very flouriſhing. Hindoo-Ko lies in the centre between Cabul, Badakſhan, and Balkh. The inhabitants are chiefly Afghans, who live by paſturage, and breed on its lofty mountains,

mountains, and on its extensive plains, innumerable droves of horses, camels, sheep, and goats.

The extensive, the celebrated, the commercial capital of Cabul, once the imperial residence of Baber, is situated in latitude 34° 36', in longitude 68° 58'. According to Abul Fazil, it is a very ancient and beautiful city; and Pusheng is said to have been its founder. It is situated, Mr. Rennel informs us, at the foot of the Indian Caucasus; and not far from the source of the Attock river, which passes very near, or under it. Its situation, he adds, is spoken of in terms of rapture by the Hindoo historians, Cabul being less romantic than pleasant; enjoying a delightful air, and having within its reach the fruits and other products both of the temperate and the torrid zone. It is the gate of Hindostan towards Tartary, as Candahar is towards Persia; and if both places be properly guarded, that extensive empire is safe from the irruption of foreigners. Similar to this observation, which is taken from the Ayeen Akbery, is a remark in the Short Description of Asia, p. 7. "that, according to the Indians, no man can be called the ruler of India who has not taken possession of Cabul." Baber was in possession of it; and soon became

the Indian ſovereign. Abdallah, its late maſter, made ſome rapid advances towards the conqueſt of Upper India; and diſpoſed at his will of the crown of Delhi. In this ſoobah a pergunnah, compoſed of villages and hamlets, is called Tooman.

Tooman Bekram, commonly called Peiſhore, enjoys a delightful ſpring-ſeaſon. Its capital, called alſo Peiſhore, is a conſiderable city, and is ſituated on the great road leading from Attock to Cabul. Tooman Ghuzneen (Gazna) deſerves notice from the renown which, in former times, its capital enjoyed; having been the imperial city of the Gaznavide ſultans. Gazna was formerly called Zabul; whence the whole province was called Zabuliſtan; and Candahar was at that time only conſidered as a part of it. This ancient capital is placed by D'Anville in the north-weſt extreme of the ſoobah; but Mr. Rennel, guided by Mr. Forſter's Journal, has placed it in a more probable ſituation, in the very heart of the province. In the Deſcription of Aſia, cited above, it is ſaid to be "an unpleaſant city; and that the inhabitants are forced to ſend to Meimend for their fruit and herbage." The Ayeen Akbery corroborates this account, by affirming, "that the huſbandman undergoes great labour, from being obliged to bring freſh mould

mould from Cabul every year; the natural ſoil of the country, being too poor for cultivation." The whole of Cabul conſiſts of twenty Toomans. Its revenue is ſtated by Abul Fazil at 6 crore, 73 lacks, and 6983 daums. The number of its forces is not aſcertained in the Ayeen Akbery, but Manuchi reckons them at 60,000 cavalry, and 12,000 infantry. This whole northern tract of country, including generally Cabul, Candahar, Gazna, Peiſhore, Gaur, Seiſtan, and Choraſan, and extending in length not leſs than 650 Bengal miles from eaſt to weſt, owns for its potent ſovereign Timur Shaw Abdallah. He is the ſon of that Ahmed Abdallah, who, upon the death of Nadir, ſeized upon theſe parts of his vaſt empire, and erected them into an independent kingdom, differing little in limits and extent from the ancient empire of Gazna.

Such were the particulars which ſeemed moſt deſerving of notice, and moſt illuſtrative of the following pages, in the Ayeen Akbery. Reſerving the conſideration of the geography of the PENINSULA for that period of the enſuing hiſtory when it was firſt penetrated by the arms of the Mohammedans, I ſhall conclude this Diſſertation on the geography of the country, which is properly called HINDOSTAN, with

an account of thoſe three mighty rivers which at once bound and adorn it.

I ſhall begin with the INDUS, becauſe we have been juſt deſcribing the countries through which it paſſes.

In the account of the river INDUS, given by Pliny [a], that author obſerves, "Indus ab incolis Sandus appellatur;" *the river Indus is by the natives called Sandus*. How very much is it to be lamented that he, and his brethren of claſſical celebrity, have not more frequently given us the native appellation of Indian cities, mountains, and rivers? How much unavailing ſolicitude would they have ſaved the geographer and the hiſtorian? Mr. Wilkins, in a note to his tranſlation of the Heetopades [b], informs us, that the proper name of the river, which we call the Indus, as written in Sanſcreet characters, is SEENDHOO, which by the vulgar is pronounced SEEND. The Ayeen Akbery [c] expreſſes doubt concerning the exact ſite of its ſource; for that book obſerves, that, according to ſome, it riſes between Caſhmere and Caſhgur, while others place its ſource in Khatai, or Tartary.

[a] Plinii, Nat. Hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 20. Aldi edit. This edition reads Sandus; all the others Sindus.

[b] Heetopades, p. 333.

[c] Ayeen Akbery, vol ii. p. 132.

Tartary. Major Rennel has found no opportunity to decide the queſtion; but thinks it may poſſibly ſpring from the weſt ſide of that ridge of Imaus, which, in the opinion of the ancients, ſeparated the two Scythias, in about the 38th degree of north latitude. The firſt part of its courſe ſeems to lie through that region of Caſhgur [d], which is known to be a deſert of deep and black ſand, particles of which being waſhed away by the rapidity of the ſtream, and mingling with its waters, give them a black, or rather a blue colour; whence, probably, in its early courſe, it is called NILAB, or the BLUE river. Sir W. Jones, ſpeaking of the probable connection that anciently exiſted between India and Egypt, ſeems inclined to derive even the name of the river Nile from the Sanſcreet root NILA, BLUE; and is confirmed in that idea by the great geographer Dionyſius, expreſsly calling the waters of that river an azure ſtream [e].

Entering Hindoſtan, nearly in latitude 34°, it paſſes through Kenore and Puckely, and receives in its courſe the tribute of ten principal ſtreams, which deſcend from the Perſian and Tartarian mountains on the north-eaſt and north-weſt.

[d] See the Account of Caſhgur, in Abulgazi Cawn's Hiſtory of the Tartars, vol. ii. p. 476.

[e] Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. i. 271.

From the city of Attock, downwards to Multan, it is called the river of ATTOCK. Below Multan, which is about the ſame diſtance from the ſea as Allahabad, that is, about 800 miles by the courſe of the river, the Seendhoo, ſwollen with all the rivers of the Panjab, flows majeſtically down to Tatta, under the aſſumed name of SOOR, or SHOOR. Near Tatta it divides itſelf into a number of channels; and the principal branch rolls rapidly on to the ocean, under the new appellation of MEHRAN.

The breadth of the Indus at Bazaar, a town ſituated about twenty miles to the north-eaſt of Attock, according to Mr. Forſter, is three quarters of a mile. He obſerved the ſtream to be very rapid and turbulent, although not agitated by any wind; and the water itſelf he found to be extremely cold. Captain Hamilton, whoſe account of this river is the moſt accurate and extenſive of any writer before his time, repreſents its breadth at Tatta to be one mile, and the ſame breadth is aſſigned it by Mr. Rennel at the town of Ritchel, on the coaſt, where its largeſt branch enters the ocean. The former of theſe Gentlemen ſtates the depth of the Indus at ſix fathom, and its velocity at four miles per hour in the dry ſeaſon: he adds, that the inundations prevail in April, May, and June; that

that they leave a fat ſlime on the ground, which they till eaſily before it dries, and which, when ſown and harrowed, never fails to produce a good crop; that the internal commerce carried on by means of the Indus is immenſe, and that the river itſelf is navigable, for veſſels of near 200 tons, as high up as to Caſhmere. It is in every reſpect far inferior to the Ganges.

The Delta of the Indus extends in length about 150 miles along the ſea-coaſt; and its greateſt depth from the moſt prominent part of the baſe to its apex is 115 miles. The lower region of this Delta is throughout interſected by numerous creeks and rivers: it for the moſt part conſiſts of noiſome ſwamps, or muddy lakes, and is totally deſtitute of trees. The upper parts of the Delta, however, are well cultivated, and yield abundance of rice. After the rains, the Indus becomes exceedingly impetuous and turbid; and, in the mouths of the river, what is called the BORE, or ſwell of the current, occaſioned by the ſudden influx of the tide, is dreadfully high and dangerous.

Two objects, ſtill more noble and magnificent, now preſent themſelves for conſideration; the GANGES and the BURRAMPOOTER: of theſe two great rivers, of which the ſource of the former, and the very name of the latter were

unknown to antiquity, modern travellers have at once explored the origin, and traced the progreſs.

The GANGES, in the language of Hindoſtan, is called PUDDA, or PADDA, a word in Sanſcreet, ſignifying *foot*; becauſe, as ſome Bramins affirm, it flows from the foot of the god Veeſhnu. According to the opinion of others, however, as is aſſerted in the Ayeen Akbery, it flows from the hair of Mahadeo. But whether the GANGES be allowed to flow from the hair of one deity, or from the foot of another, the allegory ſimply imports, that the grateful Hindoo acknowledges to receive the bleſſing of its waters from the immediate bounty of the great Creator. It is alſo denominated BURRA GONGA, *the great river*; and GONGA, *the river*; whence is derived the native appellation of GONG, and the European name of GANGES.

The real ſources of the Ganges, I have obſerved, were unexplored by the ancients. The river itſelf was totally unknown to the great hiſtorian of antiquity, Herodotus, from whoſe declaration [f] it is evident, that "the ſandy deſerts beyond the Indus" were the utmoſt limit of his knowledge of India. In the time of Strabo, who flouriſhed in the reign of Tiberius,

[f] Herodoti, lib. iii. p. 2. Edit. Stephani. 1592.

near

near five centuries after, the Ganges had been ſailed up as high as Palibothra or Patna; and in the geography of that writer[g] it is ſaid to run ſouthward from the mountains of Emodus. In reality, the ſprings of this celebrated river are aſcertained by modern diſcoveries to lie in the vaſt mountains of TIBET, about the thirty-third degreee of north latitude. From the weſtern ſide of KENTAISSE, one of thoſe mountains, it takes its courſe in two branches for three hundred miles weſtward, but inclining to the north: at that diſtance from their fountain, meeting the great chain or ridge of mount Himmaleh, the ancient Imaus, the two ſtreams are compelled to take a ſouthern direction, and in this courſe uniting their currents, form what is properly called the GANGES. Amidſt the rugged vallies, and ſteep defiles of that remote and mountainous region, the Ganges continues to wind, until it pours the collected body of its waters through a rocky cavity of the mountain, into a vaſt baſon, ſcooped out by their violent precipitation at its foot. To this rocky cavity, the blind ſuperſtition of the natives has attached the idea of ſome reſemblance to the head of the animal which, like

g Strabonis Geograph. lib. xv, p. 683. Baſileæ. 1549.

the

the Apis formerly in Egypt, is holden ſacred throughout Hindoſtan; and the cavern through which the Ganges ruſhes at GANGOTRI, is called *the mouth of the cow.* From every enquiry of the few Europeans who have viſited this remote ſpot, no real reſemblance can be traced; but the ſame ſuperſtition which originally fabricated, perſeveres in believing and propagating the error. Both Sheriffedin, and Mr. Orme after him, place the cow-head rock at the ſtraits of Cupele, and affirm that Timur attacked the Indians, who were there aſſembled in great multitudes to purify themſelves in the ſacred ſtream, and adore the fancied ſimilitude of their favourite quadruped. After its paſſage through the rock of Gangotri, the Ganges takes an eaſterly direction for near three hundred miles, amidſt the rugged vallies and ſteep defiles of Sirinagur; and at Hurdwar again forces itſelf a paſſage through the chain of mountains called Sewalick; inferior indeed to Imaus in grandeur and altitude, but ſtill of a moſt ſublime elevation, and moſt majeſtic appearance. From the mountains of Sewalick, that form the immediate boundary of the provinces lying north of Delhi, the Ganges deſcends with little leſs impetuoſity than from GAGOTRI, into the level and cultivated region of Hindoſtan; then flow-

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ing on through delightful plains, and diffusing riches and verdure in its progress, at Allahabad receives a rich tribute to its stream in the waters of the Jumna. If we may believe the Bramins, another sacred river, called the Seraswatty, joins these rivers under ground; and therefore this spot, consecrated by the three-fold junction of their waves, has ever been the resort of devout pilgrims from every province of Hindostan, and is denominated, in the Ayeen Akbery, *the king of worshipped places.* In its course from Allahabad to the ocean, a course of eight hundred and twenty miles, the Ganges, rolling on through the center of Bahar and Bengal, among innumerable cities that proudly lift their heads on its banks, is swollen with the influx of many other considerable rivers; some of which, Mr. Rennell informs us, are equal to the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames. About two hundred and twenty miles from the sea, that is, about thirty miles below Rajahmal, commences the head of the Delta of the Ganges, which there dividing into two great branches, seeks the ocean by two different and remote channels.

The western branch, or to speak more accurately, the two westernmost branches, called the Cossimbazar and Jellinghy rivers, united

into one ſtream, deſcend by the city of Hoogly, whoſe name in paſſing they aſſume; and, waſhing the walls of Chandernagore and of Calcutta, ruſh in a broad and deep ſtream into the gulph of Bengal, at the diſtance of 180 miles from the grand eaſtern ocean. This is the only navigable branch of the Ganges for large ſhips; the other numerous channels of this river being choaked up by bars of ſand, and banks of mud, thrown up by the violence of the current, and the ſtrong ſoutherly winds. The eaſtern branch, or rather the main ſtream of the Ganges, flows on towards Dacca, once the capital of Bengal, which is watered by a noble arm of that river; and, about ſixty miles below that city, mingling its waters with thoſe of the Megna, rolls in one united and majeſtic ſtream into the ocean.

The breadth of the Ganges varies in different places, and according to the different ſeaſons, from one mile and a quarter to three miles. At 500 miles from the ſea Mr. Rennel informs us that the channel is thirty feet deep when the river is at its loweſt; and that it continues at leaſt that depth to the ocean. The velocity of the current likewiſe varies according to the wet or dry ſeaſons. In the dry months the medium rate of motion is leſs than three

miles

miles an hour; but at the period of the inundations, that motion is often increaſed to five and ſix hours; and Mr. Rennel records an inſtance of his own boat being carried at the aſtoniſhing rate of 56 miles in eight hours.

An object equally novel and grand now claims our attention; ſo *novel*, as not to have been known to Europeans in the real extent of its magnificence before the year 1765, and ſo awfully *grand*, that the aſtoniſhed geographer, thinking the language of proſe inadequate to convey his conception, has had recourſe to the more expreſſive and energic language of poetry; but

> ———Scarce the Muſe herſelf
> Dares ſtretch her wing o'er this enormous maſs
> Of ruſhing waters; to whoſe dread expanſe,
> Continuous depth, and wond'rous length of courſe,
> Our floods are rills.

This ſtupendous object is the BURRAMPOOTER, a word which in Sanſcreet ſignifies *the ſon of Brahma*; for no meaner origin could be aſſigned to ſo wonderful a progeny. This ſupreme monarch of Indian rivers, derives its ſource from the oppoſite ſide of the ſame mountains from which the Ganges ſprings, and taking a bold ſweep towards the eaſt, in a line directly oppoſite to the courſe of that river, waſhes the vaſt country of Tibet, where, by way of diſtinction,

tion, it is denominated SANPOO, or *the river*. Winding with a rapid current through Tibet; and, for many a league, amidst dreary deserts and regions, remote from the habitations of men; it waters the borders of the territory of Lassa, the residence of the grand Lama; and then deviating with a cometary irregularity, from an east to a south-east course, the MIGHTY WANDERER approaches within 200 miles of the western frontiers of the vast empire of China. From this point its more direct path to the ocean lay through the gulph of Siam; but with a desultory course peculiar to itself, it suddenly turns to the west through Assam, and enters Bengal on the north-east quarter. Circling round the western point of the Garrow mountains, the Burrampooter now takes a southern direction; and for 60 miles before it meets the Ganges, its sister in point of origin, but not its rival in point of magnitude, glides majestically along in a stream which is regularly from four to five miles wide, and but for its freshness, Mr. Rennel says, might pass for an arm of the sea. About 40 miles from the ocean these mighty rivers unite their streams; but that Gentleman is of opinion that their junction was formerly higher up, and that the accumulation of two such vast bodies of water,

scooped

ſcooped out the amazing bed of the Megna lake [h]. Their preſent conflux is below Luckipoor, and by that confluence a body of freſh running water is produced, hardly equalled, and not exceeded either in the old or the new hemiſphere. So ſtupendous is that body of water, it has formed a gulph of ſuch extent as to contain iſlands that rival our Iſle of Wight in ſize and fertility; and with ſuch reſiſtleſs violence does it ruſh into the ocean, that in the rainy ſeaſon the ſea itſelf, or at leaſt its ſurface, is perfectly freſh for many leagues out.

The Delta, formed by the Ganges, exhibits an appearance widely different from that formed by the Indus; and is conſiderably more than twice the area of that of the Nile. It is at the baſe near two hundred miles broad, and has, Mr. Rennel informs us, no leſs than eight conſiderable openings into the ſea, each of which we pronounce without heſitation to have probably been, in its turn, the principal mouth of the Ganges. This whole extent is one vaſt foreſt; from that circumſtance denominated the woods, or SUNDERBUNDS, whoſe dangerous receſſes the fortitude

h Megna and Burrampooter are names belonging to the ſame river in different parts of its courſe. The Megna falls into the Burrampooter, and, though a much ſmaller river, communicates its name to the other during the reſt of its courſe.

and industry of man, have never yet completely explored, and which, from their forming an impenetrable barrier on that side, as well as from their affording an inexhaustible supply of timber for boat building, the policy of the English has not yet attempted to clear. These woods are the gloomy haunts of every species of savage animals, but particularly of those formidable race of tigers called the Royal, or Bengal tiger, so celebrated throughout the world. The fierceness and intrepidity of these animals are so great, that they have been known to swim, in quest of prey, to the boats that lie at anchor in the river, and often make havoc among the wood-cutters and salt-makers, who carry on "their dreadful trade" upon the shore. Besides those principal openings above-mentioned, the whole coast of the Delta, bordering on the sea, is indented with innumerable rivers and creeks, while the internal parts of the Sunderbunds are intersected in every direction with a thousand streams, which form a complete inland navigation, and which, ccording to a description given me by the late worthy Colonel IRONSIDE, abound with scenes so romantic and beautiful, that they alternately excite in the mind the most rapturous admiration, and impress it with the most awful astonishment.